



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

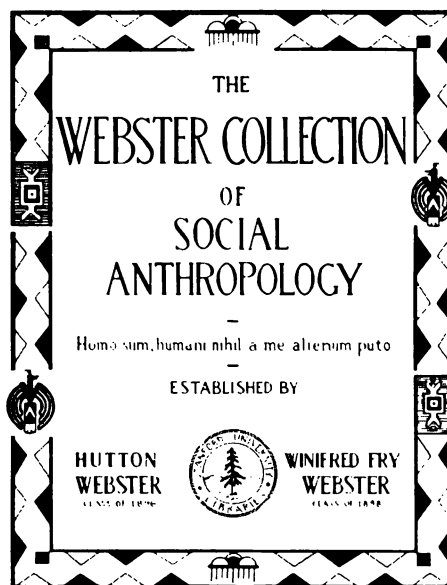
We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>







1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

S K E T C H E S
O F T H E
H I S T O R Y O F M A N.

V O L U M E II.

100-44388-100

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

S K E T C H E S
O F T H E
H I S T O R Y O F M A N.

I N T W O V O L U M E S.

By Henry Home, Lord Kames

V O L U M E I I.

E D I N B U R G H :

Printed for W. CREECH, Edinburgh; and for
W. STRAHAN, and T. CADELL, London.

MDCCLXXIV.

701.2
K15a
V. 2
C. 2

S K E T C H E S
O F T H E
H I S T O R Y O F M A N.

B O O K II.
Progress of M E N in S O C I E T Y.

S K E T C H IX.
M I L I T A R Y Branch of G O V E R N M E N T.

DURING the infancy of a nation, every member depends on his own industry for procuring the necessaries of life: he is his own mason, his own tailor, his own physician; and on himself he chiefly relies for offence as well as defence. Every savage can say, what few beggars among us can say, *Omnia mea mecum porto*; and hence the aptitude

VOL. II.

A

of

of a savage for war, which makes little alteration in his manner of living. In early times accordingly, the men were all warriors, and every known art was exercised by women; which is the case at present of American savages. And even after arts were so much improved as to be exercised by men, none who could bear arms were exempted from war. In feudal governments, the military spirit was carried to a great height: all gentlemen were soldiers by profession; and every other art was despised, as low, if not contemptible.

Even in this untoward state, arts made some progress, not excepting those for amusement; and many conveniences, formerly unknown, became necessary to comfortable living. A man cannot bear to be deprived of the conveniences and amusements to which he is accustomed: he hates war, and clings to the sweets of peace. Hence the necessity of a military establishment, hardening men by strict discipline to endure the fatigues of war. By standing armies, war is carried on more regularly and scientifically than in feudal governments; and as it is carried on with infinitely greater expence, nations are more reserved in declaring war than formerly. Long experience has at the same time made it evident, that a nation seldom gains by war; and that agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, are the only solid foundations of power and grandeur. These arts accordingly have become the chief objects of European governments; and the only rational causes of war. Among the warlike nations of Greece and Italy, how would it have fared, that their effeminate descendants would employ soldiers by profession to fight their battles? And yet this is necessary, in every country where arts and manufactures flourish; which, requiring little exercise, tend to enervate the body, and of course the mind. Gain, at the same time, being the sole object of industry, advances selfishness to be the ruling passion, and brings on a timid anxiety about property and self-preservation.

Cyrus,

Cyrus, tho' flaming with resentment against the Lydians for revolting, listened to the following sagacious advice, offered by Cræsus, their former King. " O Cyrus, destroy not Sardis, an ancient city, famous for arts and arms ; but, pardoning what is past, demand all their arms, encourage luxury, and exhort them to instruct their children in every art of gainful commerce. You will soon see, O King, that instead of men, they will be women." The Arabians, a brave and generous people, conquered Spain, and drove into the inaccessible mountains of Biscay and Asturia, the few natives who stood out. When no longer an enemy appeared, they turned their swords into ploughshares, and became a rich and flourishing nation. The inhabitants of the mountains, hardened by poverty and situation, ventured, after a long interval, to peep out from their strong-holds, and to lie in wait for straggling parties. Finding themselves now a match for a people, whom opulence had betrayed to luxury, and the arts of peace to cowardice ; they took courage to display their banners in the open field ; and after many military achievements, succeeded in reconquering Spain. The Scots, inhabiting the mountainous parts of Caledonia, were an overmatch for the Picts, who occupied the fertile plains, and at last subdued them *.

* Before the time that all Scotland was brought under one king, the highlanders, divided into tribes or clans, made war upon each other ; and continued the same practice irregularly many ages after they submitted to the king of Scotland. Open war was repressed, but it went on privately by depredations and reprisals. The clan-spirit was much depressed by their bad success in the rebellion 1715 ; and totally crushed after the rebellion 1745. The mildness with which the highlanders have been treated of late, and the pains that have been taken to introduce industry among them, have totally extirpated depredations and reprisals, and have rendered them the most peaceable people in Scotland ; but have at the same time reduced their military spirit to a low ebb. To train them for war, military discipline has now become no less necessary than to others.

Where arts, manufactures, and commerce, have arrived at perfection, a pacific spirit prevails universally : not a spark is left of military ardor, nor will any man be a soldier. Hence in such a state, the necessity of mercenary troops, hired among nations less effeminate, who fight for pay, not for the state they serve. Benjamin de Tudela, a Spanish Jew, who wrote in the twelfth century, reports, that the Greeks, by luxury and effeminacy, had contracted a degree of softness, that made them resemble women more than men ; and that the Greek Emperor was reduced to the necessity of employing mercenary troops, to defend his country against the Turks. And accordingly when, in the year 1453, the city of Constantinople, defended by a garrison not exceeding 6000 men, was besieged by the Turks, and reduced to extremity, not a single inhabitant had courage to take up arms, all waiting with torpid despondence the hour of utter extirpation. Venice, Genoa, and other small Italian states, became so effeminate by long and successful commerce, that not a citizen ever thought of serving in the army ; which obliged them to employ mercenaries, officers as well as private men. These mercenaries at first fought conscientiously for their pay ; but reflecting, that the victors were not better paid than the vanquished, they learned to play booty. In a battle particularly between the Pisans and Florentines, which lasted from sun-rising to sun-setting, there was but a single man lost, who, having accidentally fallen from his horse, was trode under foot. Charles VIII. of France, when he invaded Italy *anno* 1498, understood nothing of such mock battles ; and his men were held to be devils incarnate, who seemed to take delight in shedding human blood. The Dutch, who for many years have been reduced to mercenary troops, are more indebted to the mutual jealousy of their neighbours for their independence, than to their own army. In the year 1672, Lewis of France invaded Holland, and in forty days took forty walled towns. That country

country was saved, not by its army, but by being laid under water. Frost, which is usual at that season, would have put an end to the seven United Provinces.

The small principality of Palmyra is the only instance known in history, where the military spirit was not enervated by opulence. Pliny describes that country as extremely pleasant, and blessed with plenty of springs, tho' surrounded with dry and sandy deserts. The commerce of the Indies was at that time carried on by land; and the city of Palmyra was the centre of that commerce between the East and the West. Its territory being very small, little more than sufficient for villas and pleasure-grounds, the inhabitants, like those of Hamburgh, had no way to employ their riches for profit but in trade. At the same time, being situated between the two mighty empires of Rome and Parthia, it required great address, and the most assiduous military discipline, to preserve the inhabitants from being swallowed up by the one or the other. This ticklish situation preserved them from luxury and effeminacy, the usual concomitants of riches. They made a better figure with their superfluous wealth: they laid it out on magnificent buildings, and adorning their country-seats. The fine arts in general, were among them carried to a high degree of perfection. The famous Zenobia, their Queen, led captive to Rome after being deprived of her dominions, was admired and celebrated for spirit, for learning, and for an exquisite taste in the fine arts.

Thus, by accumulating wealth, a manufacturing and commercial people become a tempting object for conquest; and by effeminacy become an easy conquest. The military spirit seems to be much decayed in Britain; and ere it be gone, will no phantom appear, even in a dream, to disturb our downy rest? Formerly, the culture of corn in the temperate regions of Europe and Asia, proved a tempting bait to northern savages who wanted bread:

have

have we no cause to dread a similar fate from some warlike neighbour, impelled by hunger, or by ambition, to extend his dominions? The difficulty of providing for defence, without hurting industry, has produced a general opinion among political writers, that a nation, if it will preserve its military spirit, must exclude industry; and, if it will preserve its industry, must give up all hopes of retaining its military spirit. In the former case, we are secure against any invader: in the latter, we indeed make a considerable figure, but lie open to every invader. Happy would Britain be, could the spirit of war and of commerce be made compatible by some military plan, that would protect us against enemies, without hurting our industry and manufactures. That such a plan is not absolutely impracticable, will, I hope, appear from what follows; tho' I am far from hoping that it will meet with universal approbation. To prepare the reader, I shall premise an account of the different military establishments that exist, and have existed, in Europe, with the advantages and disadvantages of each. In examining these, who knows whether some hint may not occur of a plan more perfect than any of them.

The most illustrious military establishment of antiquity is that of the Romans, by which they subdued almost all the known world. The Roman citizens were many of them husbandmen, and all of them soldiers. The inhabitants of Rome, in particular, lived upon their pay when in the field; but if they happened not to be successful in plundering, they had no means of living at home. An annual distribution of corn among them became necessary, which in effect corresponded to the halfpay of our officers. It is believed, that such a constitution would not be adopted by any modern state. It was a forc'd constitution; contrary to nature, which gives different dispositions to men, in order to supply hands for every necessary art. It was, at the same time, extremely precarious, there being in it no medium between uni-
versal

versal conquest and the most wretched slavery. Had the Gauls, who conquered Rome, entertained any view but of plunder, Rome would never have been more heard of. It was on the brink of ruin in the war with Hannibal. What would have happened had Hannibal been victorious? It is easy to judge, by comparing it with Carthage. Carthage was a commercial state, the people all employ'd in arts, manufactures, and navigation. The Carthaginians were subdued; but they could not be reduced to extremity, while they had access to the sea. In fact, they prospered so much by commerce, even after they were subdued, as to raise jealousy in their masters, who thought themselves not secure while a house remained standing in Carthage. On the other hand, what resource for the inhabitants of Rome, had they been subdued? They must have perished by hunger; for they could not work. In a word, ancient Rome resembles a gamester who ventures all upon one decisive throw: if he lose, he is undone.

I take it for granted, that our feudal system will not have a single vote. It was a system that led to confusion and anarchy, as little fitted for war as for peace. And as for mercenary troops, it is unnecessary to bring them again into the field, after what is said of them above.

The only remaining forms that merit attention, are a standing army, and a militia; which I shall examine in their order, with the objections that lie against each. The first standing army in modern times was established by Charles VII. of France, on a very imperfect plan. By an edict *anno* 1448, he appointed each parish to furnish an archer: these were termed *franc-archers*, because they were exempted from all taxes. This little army was intended for restoring peace and order at home, not for disturbing neighbouring states. This good prince had been forced into many perilous wars, some of them for restraining the turbulent spirit of his vassals, and most of them for defending his crown against

gainst a powerful adversary, Henry V. of England. As these wars were carried on in the feudal manner, the soldiers, who had no pay, could not be restrained from plundering; and inveterate practice rendered them equally licentious in peace and in war. Charles, to leave no pretext for free quarters, laid upon his subjects a small tax, sufficient for regular pay to his little army*.

First attempts are commonly crude and defective. The franc-archers, dispersed one by one in different villages, and never collected but in time of action, could not easily be brought under regular discipline. They were idle when not in the field; and in the field, they display'd nothing but vicious habits, a spirit of laziness, of disorder, and of pilfering. Neither in peace were they of any use: their character of soldier made them despise agriculture, without being qualified for war: in the army they were no better than peasants: at the plough, no better than idle soldiers. But in the hands of a monarch, a standing army is an instrument of power, too valuable ever to be abandoned: if one sovereign entertain such an army, others in self-defence must follow the example. Standing armies are now established in every European state, and are brought to a competent degree of perfection.

This new instrument of government, has produced a wonderful change in manners. We now rely on a standing army, for

* This was the first tax imposed in France without consent of the three estates: and, however unconstitutional, it occasioned not the slightest murmur, because the visible good tendency of the tax reconciled all the world to it. Charles, beside, was a favourite of his people; and justly, as he shewed by every act his affection for them. Had our first Charles been such a favourite, who knows, whether the taxes he imposed without consent of parliament, would have met with any opposition? Such taxes would have become customary, as in France; and a limited monarchy would, as in France, have become absolute. Governments, like men, are liable to many revolutions: we remain, it is true, a free people; but for that blessing, we are perhaps more indebted to fortune, than to patriotic vigilance.

defence

defence as well as offence : none but those who are trained to war, ever think of handling arms, or even of defending themselves against an enemy : our people in general have become altogether effeminate, terrified at the very sight of a hostile weapon. It is true, they are not the less qualified for the arts of peace ; and if manufacturers be protected from being obliged to serve in the army, I discover not any incompatibility between a standing army and the highest industry. Husbandmen at the same time make the best soldiers : a military spirit in the lower classes arises from bodily strength, and from affection to their natal soil : both are eminent in the husbandman : constant exercise in the open air renders him hardy and robust ; and fondness for the place where he finds comfort and plenty, attaches him to his country in general *. An artist or manufacturer, on the

* Numquam credo potuisse dubitari, aptiorem armis rusticam plebem, quæ sub divo et in labore nutritur ; solis patiens ; umbræ negligens ; balnearum nescia ; deliciarum ignara ; simplicis animi ; parvo contenta ; duratis ad omnem laborum tolerantiam membris : cui gestare ferrum, fossam ducere, onus ferre, consuetudo de rure est. Nec inficiandum est, post urbem conditam, Romanos ex civitate profectos semper ad bellum : sed tunc nullis voluptatibus, nullis deliciis frangebantur. Sudorem cursu et campestri exercitio collectum nando juvenus abluebat in Tybere. Idem bellator, idem agricola, genera tantum mutabat armorum. *Vegetius, De re militari, l. 1. cap. 3.* — [*In English thus* : “ I believe it was never doubted, that “ the country-labourers were, of all others, the best soldiers. Inured to the open “ air, and habitual toil, subjected to the extremes of heat and cold, ignorant of the “ use of the bath, or any of the luxuries of life, contented with bare necessities, “ there was no severity in any change they could make : their limbs, accustomed to “ the use of the spade and plough, and habituated to burden, were capable of the “ utmost extremity of toil. Indeed, in the earliest ages of the commonwealth, “ while the city was in her infancy, the citizens marched out from the town to “ the field : but at that time they were not enfeebled by pleasures, nor by luxury : “ The military youth, returning from their exercise and martial sports, plunged “ into the Tyber to wash off the sweat and dust of the field. The warrior and the “ husbandman were the same, they changed only the nature of their arms.”]

contrary, is attached to no country but where he finds the best bread; and a sedentary life, enervating his body, renders him pusillanimous. For these reasons, among many, agriculture ought to be honoured and cherished above all other arts. It is not only a fine preparation for war, by breeding men who love their country, and whom labour and sobriety fit for being soldiers; but is also the best foundation for commerce, by furnishing both food and materials to the industrious.

But several objections of the most interesting nature occur against a standing army, that call aloud for a better model than has hitherto been established, at least in Britain. The subject is of importance, and I hope for attention from every man who loves his country. During the vigour of the feudal system, which made every land-proprietor a soldier, every inch of ground was tenaciously disputed with an invader: and while a sovereign retained any part of his dominions, he never lost hopes of recovering the whole. At present, we rely entirely on a standing army, for defence as well as offence, which has reduced every nation of Europe to a very precarious condition. If the army of a state happen to be defeated, even at the most distant frontier, there is little resource against a total conquest. Compare the history of Charles VII. with that of Lewis XIV. Kings of France. The former, tho' driven into a corner by Henry V. of England, and deprived of the bulk of his provinces, was however far from yielding: on the contrary, relying on the military spirit of his people, and indefatigably intent on stratagem and surprise, he recovered all he had lost. When Lewis XIV. succeeded to the crown, the military spirit of the people, was contracted within the narrow span of a standing army. Behold the consequence. That ambitious monarch, having provoked his neighbours into an alliance against him, had no resource against a more numerous army, but to purchase peace by offering to abandon all his conquests, upon which
he

he had lavished much blood and treasure (a). France at that period contained several millions capable of bearing arms; and yet was not in a condition to make head against a disciplined army of 70,000 men. Poland, which continues upon the ancient military establishment, wearied out Charles XII. of Sweden, and had done the same to several of his predecessors. But Saxony, defended only by a standing army, could not hold out a single day against the prince now mentioned, at the head of a greater army. Mercenary troops are a defence still more feeble, against troops that fight for glory, or for their country. Unhappy was the invention of a standing army; which, without being any strong bulwark against enemies, is a grievous burden on the people; and turns daily more and more so. Listen to a first-rate author on that point. “ Sitôt qu’ un état augmente ce qu’ il appelle ses troupes, les autres augmentent les leurs; de façon qu’ on ne gagne rien par-là que la ruine commune. Chaque monarque tient sur pied toutes les armées qu’ il pourroit avoir si ses peuples étoient en danger d’ être exterminées; et on nomme paix cet état d’ effort de tous contre tous. Nous sommes pauvres avec les richesses et le commerce de tout l’ univers; et bientôt à force d’ avoir des soldats, nous n’ aurons plus que des soldats, et nous ferons comme de Tartares * (b).”

* “ As soon as one state augments the number of its troops, the neighbouring states of course do the same; so that nothing is gained, and the effect is, the general ruin. Every prince keeps as many armies in pay, as if he dreaded the extermination of his people from a foreign invasion; and this perpetual struggle, maintained by all against all, is termed *peace*. With the riches and commerce of the whole universe, we are in a state of poverty; and by thus continually augmenting our troops, we shall soon have none else but soldiers, and be reduced to the same situation as the Tartars.

(a) Treaty of St Gertrudenberg.

(b) L’ esprit des loix, liv. 13. chap. 17.

But with respect to Britain, and every free nation, there is an objection still more formidable ; which is, that a standing army is dangerous to liberty. It avails very little to be secure against foreign enemies, supposing a standing army to afford security, if we have no security against an enemy at home. If a warlike king, heading his own troops, be ambitious to render himself absolute, there are no means to evade the impending blow ; for what avail the greatest number of effeminate cowards against a disciplined army, devoted to their prince, and ready implicitly to execute his commands ? In a word, by relying entirely on a standing army, and by trusting the sword in the hands of men who abhor the restraint of civil laws, a solid foundation is laid for military government. Thus a standing army is dangerous to liberty, and yet no sufficient bulwark against powerful neighbours.

Deeply sensible of the foregoing objections, Harrington proposes a plan for a militia, which he holds to be unexceptionable. Every male between eighteen and thirty, is to be trained to military exercises, by frequent meetings, where the youth are excited by premiums to contend in running, wrestling, shooting at a mark, &c. &c. But Harrington did not advert, that such meetings, enflaming the military spirit, must create an aversion in the people to dull and fatiguing labour. His plan evidently is inconsistent with industry and manufactures : it would be so at least in Britain. A most successful plan it would be, were defence our sole object ; and not the less successful, by rendering Britain so poor as scarce to be a tempting conquest. Our late war with France is a conspicuous instance of the power that can be exerted by a commercial state, entire in its credit ; a power that amaz'd all the world, and ourselves no less than others. Politicians begin to consider Britain, and not France, to be the formidable power that threatens universal monarchy. Had Harrington's plan been adopted, Britain, like Sweden or Denmark, must have been contented with an inferior

inferior station, having no ambition but to draw subsidies from its more potent neighbours.

In Switzerland, it is true, boys are, from the age of twelve, exercised in running, wrestling, and shooting. Every male who can bear arms is regimented, and subjected to military discipline. Here is a militia in perfection upon Harrington's plan, a militia neither forc'd nor mercenary; invincible when fighting for their country: and as the Swiss are by no means an idle people, we learn from this instance, that the martial spirit is not an invincible obstruction to industry. But the original barrenness of Switzerland, compelled the inhabitants to be sober and industrious: and industry hath among them become a second nature, there scarcely being a child above six years of age but who is employ'd, not excepting children of opulent families. England differs widely in the nature of its soil, and of its people. At the same time, there is little occasion to insist upon that difference; as Switzerland affords no clear evidence, that a militia gives no obstruction to a spirit of industry: the Swiss, it is true, may be termed industrious; but their industry is confined to necessities and conveniencies: they are less ambitious of wealth than of military glory; and they have few arts or manufactures, either to support foreign commerce, or to excite luxury.

Fletcher of Salton's plan of a militia, differs little from that of Harrington. Three camps are to be constantly kept up in England, and a fourth in Scotland; into one or other of which, every man must enter upon completing his one and twentieth year. In these camps the art of war is to be acquired and practised: those who can maintain themselves must continue there two years, others but a single year. Secondly, Those who have been thus educated, shall for ever after have fifty yearly meetings, and shall exercise four hours every meeting. It is not said, by what means young men are compelled to resort to the camp; nor is any exception

exception mentioned of persons destin'd for the church, for liberal sciences, or for the fine arts. The weak and the sickly must be exempted ; and yet no regulation is proposed against those who absent themselves on a false pretext. But waving these, the capital objection against Harrington's plan strikes equally against Fletcher's, That by rousing a military spirit, it would alienate the minds of our people from arts and manufactures, and from any constant and uniform occupation. The author himself remarks, that the use and exercise of arms, would make the youth place their honour upon that art, and would enflame them with love of military glory ; not adverting, that love of military glory, diffused through the whole mass of the people, would unqualify Britain for being a manufacturing and commercial country, rendering it of little weight or consideration in Europe.

The military branch is essential to every species of government : the Quakers are the only people who ever doubted of it. Is it not then mortifying, that a capital branch of government, should to this day remain in a state so imperfect ? One would suspect some inherent vice in the nature of government, that counteracts every effort of genius to produce a more perfect mode. I am not disposed to admit any defect of Providence, especially in an article essential to the well-being of society ; and rather than yield to the charge, I venture to propose the following plan, even at the hazard of being thought an idle projector. And what animates me greatly to make the attempt is, a firm conviction, that a military and an industrious spirit are of equal importance to Britain ; and that if either of them be lost, we are undone. To reconcile these seeming antagonists, is my chief view in the following plan ; to which I shall proceed, after paving the way by some preliminary considerations.

The first is, that as military force is essential to every state, no man is exempted from bearing arms for his country : all are bound ;

bound; because none can be bound, if every one be not bound. Were any difference to be made, persons of figure and fortune ought first to be called to that service, as being the most interested in the welfare of their country. Listen to a good soldier delivering his opinion on that subject. “ Les levées qui se font par supercherie sont tout aussi odieuses; on met de l’argent dans la pochette d’un homme, et on lui dit qu’il est soldat. Celles qui se font par force, le sont encore plus; c’est une desolation publique, dont le bourgeois et l’habitant ne se sauvent qu’à force d’argent, et dont le fond est toujours un moyen odieux. Ne voudroit-il pas mieux établir, par une loi, que tout homme, de quelque condition qu’il fût, seroit obligé de servir son prince et sa patrie pendant cinq ans? Cette loi ne sauroit être désapprouvée, parce qu’il est naturel et juste que les citoyens s’emploient pour la défense de l’état. Cette méthode de lever des troupes seroit un fond inépuisable de belles et bonnes recrues, qui ne seroient pas sujettes à déserter. L’on se feroit même, par la suite, un honneur et un devoir de servir sa tâche. Mais, pour y parvenir, il faudroit n’en excepter aucune condition, être sévère sur ce point, et s’attacher à faire exécuter cette loi de préférence aux nobles et aux riches. Personne n’en murmurerait. Alors ceux qui auroient servi leur temps, verroient avec mépris ceux qui repugneroient à cette loi, et insensiblement on se feroit un honneur de servir: le pauvre bourgeois seroit consolé par l’exemple du riche; et celui-ci n’oseroit se plaindre, voyant servir le noble (a) *.”

Take

(a) Les reveries du Comte de Saxe.

* “ The method of inlisting men, by putting a trick upon them, is fully as odious. They slip a piece of money into a man’s pocket, and then tell him he is a soldier. Inlisting by force is still more odious. It is a public calamity, from which the citizen has no means of saving himself but by money; and it is consequently the worst of all the resources of government. Would it not be more expedient

Take another preliminary consideration. While there remained any portion of our original martial spirit, the difficulty was not great of recruiting the army. But that task hath of late years become extremely troublesome; and more disagreeable still than troublesome, by the necessity of using deceitful arts for trepanning the unwary youth. Nor are such arts always successful: in our late war with France, we were necessitated to give up even the appearance of voluntary service, and to recruit the army on the solid principle of obliging every man to fight for his country: the justices of peace were empowered by the legislature, to force into the service such as could be best spared from civil occupation. If a single clause had been added, limiting the service to five or seven years, the measure would have been unexceptionable, even in a land of liberty. To relieve officers of the army from practising deceitful arts for recruiting their corps, by substituting a fair and constitutional mode, was a valuable improvement. It was of importance with respect to its direct intendment; but of much greater with respect to its consequences. One of the

“ expedient to enact a law, obliging every man, whatever be his rank, to serve his
 “ King and country for five years? This law could not be disapproved of, be-
 “ cause it is consistent both with nature and justice, that every citizen should be
 “ employed in the defence of the state. Here would be an inexhaustible fund of
 “ good and able soldiers, who would not be apt to desert, as every man would
 “ reckon it both his honour and his duty to have served his time. But to effect
 “ this, it must be a fixed principle, That there shall be no exception of ranks. This
 “ point must be rigorously attended to, and the law must be enforced, by way of
 “ preference, first among the nobility and the men of wealth. There would not
 “ be a single man who would complain of it. A person who had served his time,
 “ would treat with contempt another who should show reluctance to comply with
 “ the law; and thus, by degrees, it would become a task of honour. The poor
 “ citizen would be comforted and inspirited by the example of his rich neighbour;
 “ and he again would have nothing to complain of, when he saw that the noble-
 “ man was not exempted from service.”

few

few disadvantages of a free state, is licentiousness in the common people, who may wallow in disorder and profligacy without control, if they be but cautious to refrain from gross crimes, punishable by law. Now, as it appears to me, there never has been devised a method more efficacious for restoring industry and sobriety, than that under consideration. Its salutary effects were conspicuous, even during the short time it subsisted. The dread of being forc'd into the service, rendered the populace peaceable and orderly: it did more; it rendered them industrious in order to conciliate favour. The most beneficial discoveries have been accidental: without having any view but for recruiting the army, our legislature stumbled upon an excellent method for reclaiming the idle and the profligate; a matter, in the present depravity of manners, of greater importance than any other that concerns the police of Britain. A perpetual law of that kind, by promoting industry, would prove a sovereign remedy against mobs and riots, diseases of a free country, full of people and of manufactures *. Why were the foregoing statutes, for there were two of them, limited to a temporary existence? There is not on record another statute better intitled to immortality.

And now to the project, which, after all my efforts, I produce with trepidation; not that I doubt of its solidity, but as ill suited to the present manners of this island. To hope that it will be put in practice, would indeed be highly ridiculous: this can never happen, till patriotism flourish more in Britain than it has done for some time past. Supposing now an army of 60,000 men to be

* Several late mobs in the south of England, all of them on pretext of scarcity, greatly alarmed the administration. A fact was discovered by a private person (*Six-weeks tour through the south of England*), which our ministers ought to have discovered, that these mobs constantly happened where wages were high and provisions low; consequently that they were occasioned, not by want, but by wantonness.

sufficient for Britain, a rational method for raising such an army, were there no standing forces, would be, that land-proprietors, in proportion to their valued rents, should furnish men to serve seven years, and no longer *. But as it would be no less unjust than imprudent, to disband at once our present army, the soft and natural way is, to begin with moulding gradually the old army into the new, by filling up vacancies with men bound to serve seven years and no longer. And for raising proper men, a matter of much delicacy, it is proposed, that in every shire a special commission be given to certain landholders of rank and figure, to raise recruits out of the lower classes, selecting always those who are the least useful at home.

Second. Those who claim to be dismissed after serving the appointed time, shall never again be called to the service, except in case of an actual invasion. Every one of them shall be intitled to a premium of eight or ten pounds, for enabling him to follow a trade or calling, without being subjected to corporation-laws. The private men in France are enlisted but for six years; and that mode has never been attended with any inconvenience.

Third. With respect to the private men, idleness must be totally and for ever banished. Supposing three months yearly to be sufficient for military discipline, the men, during the rest of the year, ought to be employ'd upon public works, forming roads, erecting bridges, making rivers navigable, clearing harbours, &c. &c. Why not also furnish men for half-pay to private undertakers of useful works? And supposing the daily pay of a soldier to be ten pence, it would greatly encourage

* In Denmark, every land-proprietor of a certain rent, is obliged to furnish a militia-man, whom he can withdraw at pleasure upon substituting another; an excellent method for taming the peasants, and for rendering them industrious.

extensive improvements, to have at command a number of stout fellows, under strict discipline, at the low wages of five pence a-day. An army of 60,000 men thus employ'd, would not be so expensive to the public, as 20,000 men upon the present establishment: for beside the money contributed by private undertakers, public works carried on by foldiers, will be miserably ill contrived, if not cheaply purchased with their pay *.

The most important branch of the project, is what regards the officers. The necessity of reviving in our people of rank some portion of military spirit, will be acknowledged by every person of reflection; and in that view, the following articles are proposed. First: That there be two classes of officers, one serving for pay, one without pay. In filling up every vacant office of cornet or ensign, the latter are to be preferred; but in progressive advancement, no distinction is to be made between the classes. An officer who has served seven years without pay, may retire with honour.

Second. No man shall be privileged to represent a county in parliament, who has not served seven years without pay; and, excepting an actual burghers, none but those who have performed that service, shall be privileged to represent a borough. The same qualification shall be necessary to every one who aspires to serve the public or the King in an office of dignity, excepting only churchmen and lawyers, with regard to offices in their respective professions. In old Rome, none were admitted candidates for any civil employment, till they had served ten years in the army.

Third. Officers of this class are to be exempted from the taxes

* Taking this for granted, I bring only into the calculation the pay of the three months spent in military discipline; and the calculation is very simple, the pay of 20,000 for twelve months amounting to a greater sum than the pay of 60,000 for three months.

imposed on land, coaches, windows, and plate; not for saving a trifling sum, but as a mark of distinction.

The military spirit must in Britain be miserably low, if such regulations prove not effectual to decorate the army with officers of figure and fortune. Nor need we to apprehend any bad consequence, from a number of raw officers who serve without pay: among men of birth, emulation will have a more commanding influence than pay or profit; and at any rate, there will always be a sufficiency of old and experienc'd officers receiving pay, ready to take the lead in every difficult enterprise.

Fourth. To improve this army in military discipline, it is proposed, that when occasion offers, 5 or 6000 of them be maintained by Great Britain, as auxiliaries to some ally at war. And if that body be changed from time to time, knowledge and practice in war will be diffused thro' the whole army.

Officers who serve for pay, will be greatly benefited by this plan: frequent removes of those who serve without pay, make way for them; and from the very nature of the plan, buying and selling is absolutely excluded.

I proceed to the alterations necessary for accommodating this plan to our present military establishment. As a total revolution at one instant would breed confusion, the first step ought to be a specimen only, such as the levying two or three regiments on the new model; the expence of which ought not to be grudged, as the forces presently in pay, are not sufficient, even in peace, to answer the ordinary demands of government. And as the prospect of civil employments, will excite more men of rank to offer their service than there is room for, the choice must be in the crown, not only with respect to the new regiments, but with respect to the vacant cornetcies and ensigncies in the old army. But as these regulations will not instantly produce men qualified to be secretaries of state or commissioners of treasury, so numerous as to afford

afford his Majesty a satisfactory choice, that branch of the plan may be suspended, till those who have served seven years without pay, amount to one hundred at least. The article that concerns members of parliament must be still longer suspended: it may however, after the first seven years, receive execution in part, by privileging those who have received no pay to represent a borough, refusing that privilege to others, except to actual burgesses. We may proceed one step farther, That if in a county there be five gentlemen who have the qualification under consideration, over and above the ordinary legal qualifications, one of the five must be chosen, leaving the electors free as to their other representative.

With respect to the private men of the old army, a thousand of such as have served the longest may be disbanded annually, if so many be willing to retire; and in their stead an equal number may be enlisted, to serve but seven years. Upon such a plan, it will not be difficult to find recruits.

The advantage of this plan, in one particular, is eminent. It will infallibly fill the army with gallant officers: Other advantages concerning the officers themselves, shall be mentioned afterward. An appetite for military glory, cannot fail to be roused in officers who serve without pay, when their service is the only passport to employments of trust and honour. And may we not hope, that officers who serve for pay, will, by force of imitation, be inspired with the same appetite? Nothing ought to be more sedulously inculcated into every officer, than to despise riches, as a mercantile object, below the dignity of a soldier. Often has the courage of victorious troops been blunted by the pillage of an opulent city; and may not rich captures at sea have the same effect? Some sea-commanders have been suspected, of bestowing their fire more willingly upon a merchantman, than upon a ship of war. A triumph, an ovation, a civic crown, or some such mark of honour, were

were in old Rome the only rewards for military achievements *. Money, it is true, was sometimes distributed among the private men, as an addition to their pay, after a fatiguing campaign ; but not as a recompence for their good behaviour, because all shared alike. It did not escape the penetrating Romans, that wealth, the parent of luxury and selfishness, fails not to eradicate the military spirit. The soldier who to recover his baggage performed a bold action, gave an instructive lesson to all governments. Being invited by his general to try his fortune a second time ; Invite, says the soldier, one who has lost his baggage. Many a bold adventurer goes to the Indies, who, returning with a fortune, is afraid of every breeze. Britain, I suspect, is too much infected with the spirit of gain. Will it be thought ridiculous in any man of figure, to prefer reputation and respect before riches ; provided only he can afford a frugal meal, and a warm garment ? Let us compare an old officer, who never deserted his friend nor his country, and a wealthy merchant, who never indulged a thought but of gain : the wealth is tempting ; — and yet does there exist a man of spirit, who would not be the officer rather than the merchant, even with his millions ? Sultan Mechmet granted to the Janisaries a privilege of importing foreign commodities free of duty : was it his intention to metamorphose soldiers into merchants, loving peace, and hating war ?

But tho' I declare against large appointments beforehand, which,

* A Roman triumph was finely contrived to excite heroism ; and a sort of triumph not less splendid, was display'd by the Fatemite Califs of Egypt. After returning from a successful expedition, the Calif pitched his camp in a spacious plain near his capital, where he was attended by all his grandees, in their finest equipages. Three days were commonly spent in all manner of rejoicings, feasting, music, fireworks, &c. He marched into the city with this great cavalcade, through roads covered with rich carpets, strewed with flowers, gums, and odoriferous plants, and hedged on both sides with crouds of congratulating subjects.

instead

instead of promoting service, are a temptation to luxury and idleness; yet to an officer of character, who has spent his younger years in serving his king and country, a government, or other suitable employment that enables him to pass the remainder of his life in ease and affluence, is a proper reward for merit, reflecting equal honour on the prince who bestows, and on the subject who receives; beside affording an enlivening prospect to others, who have it at heart to do well.

With respect to the private men, the rotation proposed, aims at improvements far more important, than that of making military service fall light upon individuals. It tends to unite the spirit of industry with that of war, and to form the same man to be an industrious labourer, as well as a good foldier. The continual exercise recommended, cannot fail to produce a spirit of industry; which will occasion a demand for the private men after their seven years service, as valuable above all other labourers, not only for regularity, but for activity. And with respect to service in war, constant exercise is the life of an army, in the literal as well as metaphorical sense. Boldness is inspired by strength and agility, to which constant motion mainly contributes. The Roman citizens, trained to arms from their infancy, and never allowed to rest, were invincible. To mention no other works, spacious and durable roads carried to the very extremities of that vast empire, show clearly how the foldiers were employ'd during peace; which hardened them for war, and made them orderly and submissive (a). So essential was labour held by the Romans for training an army, that they never ventured to face an enemy, with troops debilitated in any degree by idleness. The Roman army in Spain, having been worsted in several engagements, and confined within their entrenchments, were sunk in idleness and

(a) Bergiere histoire des grands chemins, vol. 2. p. 152.

luxury. Scipio Nafica, after demolishing Carthage, taking the command of that army, durst not oppose it to the enemy, till he accustomed the soldiers to temperance and hard labour. He exercised them without relaxation in marching and countermarching, in fortifying camps and demolishing them, in digging trenches and filling them up, in building high walls and pulling them down; he himself, from morning to night, going about, and directing every operation. Marius, before engaging the Cimbri, exercised his army in turning the course of a river. Appian relates, that Antiochus, during his winter-quarters at Calchis, having married a beautiful virgin, with whom he was greatly enamoured, spent the whole winter in pleasure, abandoning his army to vice and idleness: and when the time of action returned with the spring, he found his soldiers unfit for service. The idleness of our soldiers in time of peace, promoting debauchery and licentiousness, is no less destructive to health than to discipline. Unable for the fatigues of a first campaign, our private men die in thousands, as if smote with a pestilence *. We never read of any mortality in the Roman legions, tho' frequently engaged in climates very different from their own. Let us listen to a judicious writer, to whom every one listens with delight: " Nous remarquons
 " aujourd'hui, que nos armées périssent beaucoup par le travail

* The idleness of British soldiers appears from a transaction of the commissioners of the annexed estates in Scotland. After the late war with France, they judged, that part of the King's rents could not be better bestowed, than in giving bread to the disbanded soldiers. Houses were built for them, portions of land given them to cultivate at a very low rent, and maintenance afforded them till they could reap a crop. These men could not wish to be better accommodated: but so accustomed they had been to idleness, and change of place, as to be incapable of any sort of work: they deserted their farms one after another, and commenced thieves and beggars. Such as had been made serjeants must be excepted: these were sensible fellows, and prospered in their little farms.

" immodéré

“ immodéré des foldats ; et cependant c’ étoit par un travail im-
 “ menſe que les Romains ſe conſervoient. La raiſon en eſt, je
 “ crois, que leurs fatigues étoient continuelles ; au lieu que nos
 “ foldats paſſent ſans ceſſe d’ un travail extreme à une extreme oi-
 “ ſivété, ce qui eſt la choſe du monde là plus propre à les faire
 “ perir. Il faut que je rapporte ici ce que les auteurs nous diſent
 “ de l’ education de foldats Romains. On les accoutumoit à aller
 “ le pas militaire, c’ eſt-a-dire, à fair en cinq heures vingt milles,
 “ et quelquefois vingt-quatre. Pendant ces marches, on leur fai-
 “ ſoit porter de poids de ſoixante livres. On les entretenoit dans
 “ l’ habitude de courir et de ſauter tout armés ; ils prenoient
 “ dans leurs exercices des épées, de javelots, de flèches, d’ une pé-
 “ ſanteur double des armes ordinaires ; et ces exercices étoient
 “ continuels. Des hommes ſi endurcis étoient ordinairement
 “ ſains ; on ne remarque pas dans les auteurs que les armées Ro-
 “ maines, qui faiſoient la guerre en tant de climats, perifſoient
 “ beaucoup par les maladies ; au lieu qu’ il arrive preſque conti-
 “ nuellement aujourd’ hui, que des armées, ſans avoir combattu,
 “ ſe fondent, pour ainſi dire, dans une campagne * (a).” Ma-
 reſchal

(a) Montesquieu, *Grandeur de Romains*, chap. 2.

* “ We obſerve now-a-days, that our armies are conſumed by the fatigues and
 “ ſevere labour of the ſoldiers ; and yet it was alone by labour and toil that the
 “ Romans preſerved themſelves from deſtruction. I believe the reaſon is, that
 “ their fatigue was continual and unremitting, while the life of our ſoldiers is a
 “ perpetual tranſition from ſevere labour to extreme indolence, a life the moſt rui-
 “ nous of all others. I muſt here recite the account which the Roman authors
 “ give of the education of their ſoldiers. They were continually habituated to the
 “ military pace, which was, to march in five hours twenty, and ſometimes twenty-
 “ five miles. In theſe marches each ſoldier carried fixty pounds weight. They
 “ were accuſtomed to run and leap in arms ; and in their military exerciſes,
 “ their ſwords, javelins, and arrows, were of twice the ordinary weight. Theſe
 VOL. II. D “ exerciſes

reschal Saxe, a soldier, not a physician, ascribes to the use of vinegar the healthiness of the Roman legions: were vinegar so potent, it would of all liquors be the most in request. Exercise without intermission, during peace as well as during war, produced that salutary effect; which every prince will find, who is disposed to copy the Roman discipline *. The Mareschal guesses better with respect to a horse. Discouraging of cavalry, he observes, that a horse becomes hardy and healthful by constant exercise, and that a young horse is unable to bear fatigue; for which reason he declares against young horses for the service of an army.

That the military branch of the British government is susceptible of improvements, all the world will admit. To improve it, I have contributed my mite; which is humbly submitted to the public, a judge from whom there lies no appeal. It is submitted in three views. The first is, Whether an army, modelled as above, would not secure us against the boldest invader; the next, Whether such an army be as dangerous to liberty, as an army in its

“ exercises were continual, which so strengthened the constitution of the men,
 “ that they were always in health. We see no remarks in the Roman authors,
 “ that their armies, in the variety of climates where they made war, ever perished:
 “ by disease; whilst now-a-days it is not unusual, that an army, without ever
 “ coming to an engagement, dwindles away by disease in one campaign.”

* *Rei militaris periti, plus quotidiana armorum exercitia ad sanitatem militum putaverunt prodesse, quam medicos. Ex quo intelligitur quanto studiosius armorum artem docendus sit semper exercitus, cum ei laboris consuetudo et in castris sanitatem, et in conflictu possit præstare victoriam. Vegetius, De re militari, lib. 3. cap. 2.* — [*In English thus: “ Our masters of the art-military were of opinion, “ that daily exercise in arms contributed more to the health of the troops, than “ the skill of the physician: from which we may judge, what care should be “ taken, to habituate the soldiers to the exercise of arms, to which they owe both “ their health in the camp, and their victory in the field.”*] — The same author observes, that the Romans in his time had become so inactive, as to leave off the fortifying their camps.

present

present form ; and the last, Whether it would not be a school of industry and moderation to our people.

With respect to the first, we should, after a few years, have not only an army of sixty thousand well-disciplined troops, but the command of another army, equally numerous, and equally well disciplined. It is true, that troops inured to war have an advantage over troops that have not the same experience : but with assurance it may be pronounced impracticable, to land at once in Britain an army that can stand against 100,000 British soldiers well disciplined, fighting even their first battle, for their country, and for their wives and children.

A war with France raises a panic on every slight threatening of an invasion. The security afforded by the proposed plan, would enable us to act offensively at sea, instead of being reduced to keep our ships at home, for guarding our coasts. Would Britain any longer be obliged to support her continental connections ? No sooner does an European prince augment his army, or improve military discipline, than his neighbours, taking fright, must do the same. May not one hope, that by the plan proposed, or some such, Britain would be relieved from jealousy and solicitude about its neighbours ?

With respect to the second view, having long enjoy'd the sweets of a free government, under a succession of mild princes, we begin to forget, that our liberties ever were in danger. But drowsy security is of all conditions the most dangerous ; because the state may be overwhelmed before we even dream of danger. Suppose only, that a British King, accomplished in the art of war, and beloved by his soldiers, heads his own troops in a war with France ; and after more than one successful campaign, gives peace to his enemy, on terms advantageous to his people : what security have we for our liberties, when he returns with a victorious army, devoted to his will ? I am talking of a standing

army in its present form. Troops modelled as above will not be so obsequious: a number of the prime nobility and gentry serving without pay, who can be under no temptation to enslave themselves and their country, will prove a firm barrier against the ambitious views of such a prince. And even supposing that army to be totally corrupted, the prince can have little hope of success against the nation, supported by another army, composed of men, who, having completed their military service, may be relied on as champions for their country.

And as to the last view mentioned, the plan proposed cannot fail to promote industry and virtue, not only among the soldiers, but among the working people in general. To avoid hard labour and severe discipline in the army, men will be sober and industrious at home; and such untractable spirits as cannot be reached by the mild laws of a free government, will be effectually tamed by military law. At the same time, as sobriety and innocence are constant attendants upon industry, the manners of our people would be much purified; a circumstance of infinite importance to Britain. The salutary influence of the plan, would reach persons in a higher sphere. A young gentleman, whipt at school, or falling behind at college, contracts an aversion to books; and flies to the army, where he is kept in countenance by numbers, idle and ignorant like himself. How many young men are thus daily ruined, who, but for the temptation of idleness and gaiety in the army, would have become useful subjects! In the plan under consideration, the officers who serve for pay would be so few in number, and their prospect of advancement so clear, that it would require much interest to be admitted into the army. None would be admitted but those who have been regularly educated in every branch of military knowledge; and idle boys would be remitted to their studies.

Here is display'd an agreeable scene with relation to industry.

Supposing

Supposing the whole threescore thousand men to be absolutely idle; yet, by doubling the industry of those who remain, I affirm, that the sum of industry would be much greater than before. And the scene becomes enchanting, when we consider, that these threescore thousand men, would not only be of all the most industrious, but be patterns of industry to others.

Upon conclusion of a foreign war, we suffer grievously by disbanded soldiers, who must plunder or starve. The present plan is an effectual remedy: men accustomed to hard labour under strict discipline, can never be in want of bread: they will be sought for every where, even at higher than ordinary wages; and they will prove excellent masters for training the peasants to hard labour.

A man indulges emulation more freely in behalf of his friend or his country, than of himself: the latter is selfish; the former proceeds from a social principle. In that view, have we not reason to hope, that the separating military officers into different classes, will excite a laudable emulation, prompting individuals to exert themselves on every occasion, for the honour of their corps? Nor will such emulation, a virtuous passion, be any obstruction to private friendship between members of different classes. On the contrary, may it not be expected, that young officers of birth and fortune, zealous to qualify themselves, at their own expence, for serving their country, will cling for instruction to officers of experience, who have no inheritance but personal merit? Both find their account in that connection: men of rank become adepts in military affairs, a valuable branch of education for them; and officers who serve for pay, acquire friends at court, who will embrace every opportunity of testifying their gratitude.

The advantages mentioned are great and extensive; and yet are not the only advantages. Will it be thought extravagant to hope, that

that the proposed plan would form a better system of education for young men of fortune, than hitherto has been known in Britain? Before pronouncing sentence against me, let the following considerations be duly weigh'd. Our youth go abroad to *see* the world in the literal sense; for to pierce deeper than eye-sight, cannot be expected of boys. They resort to gay courts, where they find nothing for imitation but pomp, luxury, dissembled virtues, and real vices: such scenes make a deep impression on young men of a warm imagination. Our plan would be an antidote to such poisonous education. Supposing eighteen to be the earliest time for the army, here is an object held up to our youth of fortune, for rousing their ambition: they will endeavour to make a figure, and emulation will animate them to excel: supposing a young man to have no ambition, shame alone will push him on. To acquire the military art, to discipline their men, to direct the execution of public works, and to conduct other military operations, would occupy their whole time, and banish idleness. A young gentleman, thus guarded against the enticing vices and sauntering follies of youth, must be sadly deficient in genius, if, during his seven years service, reading and reflection have been totally neglected by him. Hoping better things from our youth of fortune, I take for granted, that during their service they have made some progress, not only in military knowledge, but in morals, and in the fine arts, so as at the age of twenty-five to be qualified for profiting, instead of being undone, by *seeing* the world*.

* Whether hereditary nobility may not be necessary, in a monarchical government, to support the King against the multitude, I take not on me to pronounce: but this I pronounce with assurance, that such a constitution is unhappy with respect to education; and appears to admit no remedy, if it be not that above mentioned, or some such. In fact, few of those who received their education while they were the eldest sons of Peers, have been duly qualified to manage public affairs.

Further,

Further, young men of birth and fortune, acquire indeed the smoothness and suppleness of a court, with respect to their superiors; but the constraint of such manners, makes their temper break out against inferiors, where there is no constraint. Insolence of rank is not so visible in Britain, as in countries of less freedom; but it is sufficiently visible to require correction. To that end, no method promises more success than military service; as command and obedience alternately, are the best discipline for acquiring temper and moderation. Can pride and insolence be more effectually stemmed, than to be commanded by an inferior?

Still upon the important article of education. Where pleasure is the ruling passion in youth, interest will be the ruling passion in age: the selfish principle is the foundation of both, the object only is varied. This observation is sadly verified in Britain: our young men of rank, loathing an irksome and fatiguing course of education, abandon themselves to pleasure. Trace these very men through the more sedate part of life, and they will be found grasping at power and profit, by means of court-favour, with no regard to their country, and with very little regard to their friends. The education proposed, holding up a tempting prize to virtuous ambition, is an excellent fence against a life of indolent pleasure. A youth of fortune, engaged with many rivals in a train of public service, acquires a habit of business; and as he is constantly employ'd for the public, patriotism becomes his ruling passion*.

The

* The following portrait is sketched by a good hand, (Madame Pompadour); and if it have any resemblance, it sets our plan in a conspicuous light. The French noblesse, says that lady, spending their lives in dissipation and idleness, know as little of politics as of economy. A gentleman hunts all his life in the country, or perhaps

The advantages of a military education, such as that proposed, are not yet exhausted : one of considerable importance remains to be unfolded. Under regular government promoting the arts of peace, social intercourse refines, and fondness for company increases in proportion. And hence it is, that the capital is crowded with every person who can afford to live there. A man of fortune, who has no taste but for a city life, happens to be forc'd into the country by business: finding business and the country equally insipid, he becomes impatient, and returns to town, with a disgust at every rural amusement. In France, the country has been long deserted : such fondness for society prevails there, that seldom has the King occasion to inflict a greater punishment on a man of fashion, than to banish him to his country-seat. In Britain the same fondness for a town-life is gaining ground daily. A stranger considering the immense sums expended in England upon country-seats, would conclude, in appearance with great certainty, that the English spend most of their time in the country. But how would it surprise him to be told, not only that people of fashion in England pass little of their time in the country, but that the immense sums laid out upon gardening and pleasure-grounds, are the effect of vanity more than of taste ! In fact, such embellishments are beginning to wear out of fashion ; appetite for society leaving neither time nor inclination for rural pleasures.

perhaps comes to Paris to ruin himself with an opera-girl. Those who are ambitious to be of the ministry, have seldom any merit, if it be not in caballing and intrigue. The French noblesse have courage, but without any genius for war, the fatigue of a soldier's life being to them unsupportable. The King has been reduced to the necessity of employing two strangers for the safety of his crown : had it not been for the Counts Saxe and Louendahl, the enemies of France might have laid siege to Paris.

If

If the progress of that disease can be stay'd, the only means is military education. In youth lasting impressions are made ; and men of fortune who take to the army, being confined mostly to the country in prime of life, contract a liking for country occupations and amusements ; which withdraw them from the capital, and contribute to the health of the mind, no less than of the body.

A military education would contribute equally to moderation in social enjoyments. The pomp, ceremony, and expence, necessary to those who adhere to a court, and live always in public, are not a little fatiguing and oppressive. Man is naturally moderate in his desire of enjoyment ; and it requires much practice to make him bear excess without satiety and disgust. The pain of excess, prompts men of opulence to pass some part of their time in a snug retirement, where they live at ease, free from pomp and ceremony. Here is a retirement, which can be reached without any painful circuit ; a port of safety and of peace, to which we are piloted by military education, avoiding every dangerous rock, and every fatiguing agitation.

Reflecting on the advantages of military education above display'd, is it foolish to think, that our plan might produce a total alteration of manners in our youth of birth and fortune ? The idlers, the gamesters, the profligate, compared with our military men, would make a despicable figure : shame, not to talk of pride, would compel them to reform.

How conducive to good government might the proposed plan be, in the hands of a virtuous king, supported by a public-spirited ministry ! In the present course of advancement, a youth of quality, who aspires to serve his country in a civil employment, has nothing to rely on but parliamentary interest. The military education proposed, would afford him opportunity to improve his

talents, and to convince the world of his merit. Honour and applause thus acquired, would intitle him to demand preferment; and he ought to be employ'd, not only as deserving, but as an encouragement to others. Frequent instances of neglecting men who are patronized by the public, might perhaps prove dangerous to a British minister.

If I have not all this while been dreaming, here are display'd illustrious advantages of the military education propos'd. Fondness for the subject excites me to prolong the entertainment; and I add the following reflection, on the education of such men as are disposed to serve in a public station. The sciences are mutually connected; and a man cannot be perfect in any one, without being in some degree acquainted with every one. The science of politics, in particular, being not a little intricate, cannot be acquired in perfection by any one whose studies have been confined to a single branch, whether relative to peace or to war. The Duke of Marlborough made an eminent figure in the cabinet, as well as in the field; and such was equally the illustrious Sully, who may serve as a model to all ministers. The great aim in modern politics is, to split government into the greatest number possible of departments, trusting nothing to genius. China is a complete model of such a government. National affairs are there so simplified by division, as to require scarce any capacity in the mandarines. These officers, having little occasion for activity, either of mind or of body, sink down into sloth and sensuality: motives of ambition or of fame make no impression: they have not even so much delicacy as to blush when they err: and as they regard no punishment but what touches the person or the purse, it is not unusual to see a mandarine beaten with many stripes, sometimes for a very slight transgression. Let arts be subdivided into many parts; the more subdivisions the better: but I venture to pronounce, that no man ever did, nor ever will, make a capital figure

gure in the government of a state, whether as a judge, a general, or a minister, whose education is rigidly confined to one science*.

Sensible am I that the foregoing plan is in several respects imperfect; but if it be found at bottom, polish and improvement are easy operations. My capital aim has been, to obviate the objections that press hard against every military plan, hitherto embraced or proposed. A standing army in its present form, is dangerous to liberty; and but a feeble bulwark against superior force. On the other hand, a nation in which every subject is a foldier, must not indulge any hopes of becoming powerful by manufactures and commerce: it is indeed vigorously defended, but is scarce worthy of being defended. The golden mean of rotation and constant labour in a standing army, would discipline multitudes for peace as well as for war. And a nation so defended would be invincible.

* Phocion is praised by ancient writers, for struggling against an abuse that had crept into his country of Attica, that of making war and politics different professions. In imitation of Aristides and of Pericles, he studied both equally.

S K E T C H X.

PUBLIC POLICE with respect to the POOR.

AMong those nations of Europe where government is a science, that part of public police which concerns the poor, makes now a considerable branch of statute-law. The poor-laws are so multiplied, and so anxiously framed, as to move one to think, that there cannot remain a single person wanting bread. It is however a sad truth, that the disease of poverty, instead of being eradicated, has become more and more inveterate. England in particular overflows with beggars, tho' in no other country are the indigent so amply provided for. Some radical defect there must be in these laws, when, after endless attempts to perfect them, they all prove abortive. Every writer, dissatisfied with former plans, fails not to produce one of his own; which, in its turn, meets with as little approbation as any of the foregoing.

The first regulation of the states of Holland concerning the poor, was in the year 1614, prohibiting all begging. The next was in the year 1649. " It is enacted, That every town, vil-
 " lage, or parish, shall maintain its poor out of the income of
 " its charitable foundations and collections; and in case these
 " means fall short, the magistrates shall maintain them at the
 " general expence of the inhabitants, as can most conveniently be
 " done: Provided always, that the poor be obliged to work ei-
 " ther for merchants, farmers, or others, for reasonable wages,
 " in

“ in order that they may, as far as possible, be supported that way ; provided also, that they be indulged in no idleness nor insolence.” The advice or instruction here given to magistrates, is sensible ; but falls short greatly of what may be termed a *law*, the execution of which can be enforced in a court of justice.

In France, the precarious charity of monasteries proving ineffectual, a hospital was erected in the city of Paris *anno* 1656, having different apartments ; one for the innocent poor, one for putting vagabonds to hard labour, one for foundlings, and one for the sick and maimed ; with certain funds for defraying the expence of each, which produce annually much about the same sum. In imitation of Paris, hospitals of the same kind were erected in every great town of the kingdom.

The English began more early to think of their poor ; and in a country without industry, the necessity probably arose more early. The first English statute bears date in the year 1496, directing, “ That every beggar unable to work, shall resort to the hundred where he last dwelt or was born ; and there shall remain, upon pain of being set in the stocks three days and three nights, with only bread and water, and then shall be put out of town.” This was a law against vagrants, for the sake of order. There was little occasion, at that period, to provide for the innocent poor ; their maintenance being a burden upon monasteries. But monasteries being put down by Henry VIII. there was a statute, 22d year of his reign, cap. 12. empowering the justices of every county, to grant licences to poor aged and impotent persons, to beg within a certain district ; those who beg without it, to be whipt, or set in the stocks. In the first year of Edward VI. cap. 3. a statute was made in favour of impotent, maimed, and aged persons, that they shall have convenient houses provided for them, in the cities or towns where they were born, or where they resided for
three

three years, to be relieved by the *willing and charitable disposition* of the parishioners. By 2d and 3d Philip and Mary, cap. 5. the former statutes of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. were confirmed, of gathering weekly relief for the poor by charitable collections. "A man licenced to beg, shall wear a badge on his breast and back openly."

The first compulsory statute was 5^o Elifab. cap. 3. empowering justices of peace to raise a weekly sum for the poor, by taxing such persons as obstinately refuse to contribute, after repeated admonitions from the pulpit. In the next statute, 14^o Elifab. cap. 5. a bolder step was made, empowering justices to tax the inhabitants of every parish, in a weekly sum for their poor. And taxations for the poor being now in some degree familiar, the remarkable statutes, 39^o Elifab. cap. 3. and 43^o Elifab. cap. 2. were enacted, which make the ground-work of all the subsequent statutes concerning the poor. By these statutes, certain householders, named by the justices, are, in conjunction with the church-wardens, appointed overseers for the poor; and these overseers, with consent of two justices, are empowered to tax the parish in what sums they think proper, for maintaining the poor.

Among a people so tenacious of liberty as the English are, and so impatient of oppression, is it not surprising, to find a law, that, without ceremony, subjects individuals to the arbitrary will of men, who seldom either by birth or education deserve that important trust; and without even providing any effectual check against embezzlement? At present, a British parliament would reject with scorn such an absurd plan; and yet, being familiarized to it, they never seriously have attempted a repeal. We have been always on the watch to prevent the sovereign's encroachments, especially with regard to taxes: but as parish-officers are low persons who inspire no dread, we submit to have our pockets pick'd by them, almost without repining. There is provided, it is true,
an

an appeal to the general sessions for redressing inequalities in taxing the parishioners : but it is no effectual remedy ; artful overseers will not over-rate any man so grossly as to make it his interest to complain, considering that these overseers have the poor's money to defend themselves with. Nor will the general sessions readily listen to a complaint, that cannot be verified but with much time and trouble. If the appeal have any effect, it will make a still greater inequality, by relieving men of figure at the expence of their inferiors ; who must submit, having little interest to obtain redress.

The English plan, beside being oppressive, is grossly unjust. If it should be reported of some distant nation, that the burden of maintaining the idle and profligate, is laid upon the frugal and industrious, who work hard for a maintenance to themselves ; what would one think of such a nation ? Yet this is literally the case of England. I say more : the plan is not only oppressive and unjust, but miserably defective in the checking of maladministration. In fact, great sums are levied beyond what the poor receive : it requires braving to be named a church-warden : the nomination, in London especially, gives him credit at once ; and however meagre at the commencement of his office, he is round and plump before it ends. To wax fat and rich by robbing the poor ! Let us turn our eyes from a scene so horrid *.

* In the parish of St George, Hanover Square, a great reform was made some years ago. Inhabitants of figure, not excepting men of the highest rank, take it in turn to be church-wardens ; which has reduced the poor-rates in that parish to a trifle. But people, after acquiring a name, soon tire of drudging for others. The drudgery will be left to low people as formerly, and the tax will again rise as high in that parish as in others. The poor-rates, in Dr Davenant's time, were about L. 700,000 yearly : at present they amount to between two and three millions.

Inequality in taxing, and embezzlement of the money levied, which are notorious, poison the minds of the people; and impress them with a notion, that all taxes raised by public authority are ill managed.

These evils are great, and yet are but slight compared with what follow. As the number of poor in England, as well as the expence of maintenance, are increasing daily, proprietors of land, in order to be relieved of a burden so grievous, drive the poor out of the parish, and prevent all persons from settling in it who are likely to become a burden: cottages are demolished, and marriage obstructed. Influenced by the present evil, they look not forward to depopulation, nor to the downfall of husbandry and manufactures by scarcity of hands. Every parish is in a state of war with every other parish, concerning pauper settlements and removals.

The price of labour is generally the same in the different shires of Scotland, and in the different parishes. A few exceptions are occasioned by the neighbourhood of a great town, or by some extensive manufacture that requires many hands. In Scotland, the price of labour resembles water, which always levels itself: if high in any one corner, an influx of hands brings it down. The price of labour varies in every parish of England. A labourer who has gain'd a settlement in a parish, on which he depends for bread when he inclines to be idle, dares not remove to another parish where wages are higher, fearing to be cut out of a settlement altogether. England is in the same condition with respect to labour, that France lately was with respect to corn; which, however plentiful in one province, could not be exported to supply the wants of another. The pernicious effects of the latter with respect to food, are not more obvious, than of the former with respect to manufactures.

English manufactures labour under a still greater hardship than inequality of wages. In a country where there is no fund for the
poor

poor but what nature provides, the labourer must be satisfied with such wages as are customary : he has no resource ; for pity is not moved by idleness. In England, the labourers command the market : if not satisfied with customary wages, they have an excellent resource ; which is, to abandon work altogether, and to put themselves on the parish. Labour is much cheaper in France than in England : I have heard several plausible reasons ; but in my opinion, the difference arises from the poor-laws. In England, every man is entitled to be idle ; and every idler is entitled to a maintenance. In France, the funds appropriated to the poor, yield the same sum annually : that sum is always preoccupied ; and France, with respect to all but those on the list, approaches to the state of a nation that has no fund provided by law for the poor.

Depopulation, inequality in the price of labour, and extravagant wages, are deplorable evils. But the English poor-laws are productive of evils still more deplorable : they are subversive both of morality and industry. This is a heavy charge, but no less true than heavy. Fear of want is the only effectual motive to industry with the labouring poor : remove that fear, and they cease to be industrious. The ruling passion of those who live by bodily labour, is to save a pittance for their children, and for supporting themselves in old age : stimulated by desire of accomplishing these ends, they are frugal and industrious ; and the prospect of success is to them a continual feast. Now what worse can malice invent against such a man, under colour of friendship, than to secure bread to him and his children whenever he takes a dislike to work ; which effectually deadens his sole ambition, and with it his honest industry ? Relying on the certainty of a provision against want, he relaxes gradually till he sink into idleness : idleness leads to profligacy : profligacy begets diseases : and the wretch becomes an object of public charity before he has run half his course. Such are the genuine effects of the English tax for the poor, un-

der a mistaken notion of charity. There never was known in any country, a scheme for the poor more contradictory to sound policy. Might it not have been foreseen, that to a groveling creature, who has no sense of honour, and scarce any of shame, the certainty of maintenance would prove an irresistible temptation to idleness and debauchery? The poor-house at Lyons contained originally but forty beds, of which twenty only were occupied. The eight hundred beds it contains at present, are not sufficient for the poor who demand admittance. A premium is not more successful in any case, than where it is given to promote idleness. A house for the poor was erected in a French village, the revenue of which, by economy, became considerable. Upon a representation by the curate of the parish, that more beds were necessary, the proprietor undertook the management. He sold the house, with the furniture; and to every proper object of charity, he ordered a moderate proportion of bread and beef. The poor and sick were more comfortably lodged at home, than formerly in the poor-house. And by that plan of management, the parish-poor decreased, instead of increasing, as at Lyons. How few English manufacturers labour the whole week, if the work of four or five days afford them maintenance? Is not this a demonstration, that the malady of idleness is widely spread? In Bristol, the parish-poor twenty years ago did not exceed four thousand: at present, they amount to more than ten thousand. But as a malady, when left to itself, commonly effectuates its own cure; so it will happen in this case: when, by prevailing idleness, every one without shame claims parish-charity, the burden will become intolerable, and the poor will be left to their shifts.

The immoral effects of public charity are not confined to those who depend on it, but extend to their children. The constant anxiety of a labouring man to provide for his children, endears them to him. Being relieved of that anxiety by the tax for the poor,

poor, his affection cools gradually, and he turns at last perfectly indifferent about them. Their independence, on the other hand, weans them from their duty to him. And thus, affection between parent and child, which is the corner-stone of society, is in a great measure obliterated among the labouring poor. In a plan published by the Earl of Hillsborough, there is an article, obliging parents to maintain their indigent children, and children to maintain their indigent parents. Natural affection must indeed be at a low ebb, where such a regulation is necessary: but it is necessary, at least in London, where it is common to see men in good business neglecting their aged and diseased parents, for no better reason, than that the parish is bound to find them bread: *Prob tempora, prob mores!*

The immoral effects of public charity spread still wider. It fails not to extinguish the virtue of charity among the rich; who never think of giving charity, when the public undertakes for all. In a scheme published by Mr Hay, one article is, to raise a stock for the poor by voluntary contributions, and to make up the deficiency by a parish-tax. Will individuals ever contribute, when it is not to relieve the poor, but to relieve the parish? Every hospital has a poor-box, which seldom produces any thing *. The great comfort of society is assistance in time of need; and its firmest cement is, the bestowing and receiving kindly offices, especially in distress. Now to unhinge or suspend the exercise of charity, by rendering it unnecessary, relaxes every social virtue, by supplanting the chief of them. The consequence is dismal: exercise of benevolence to the distressed is our surest guard against

* One exception I am fond to mention. The poor-box of the Edinburgh infirmary was neglected two or three years, little being expected from it. When opened, L. 74 was found in it; beside a few shillings and halfpence, contributed probably by the lower sort, who were ashamed to give their mite publicly.

the encroachments of selfishness : if that guard be withdrawn, selfishness will prevail, and become the ruling passion. In fact, the tax for the poor has contributed greatly to the growth of that groveling passion, so conspicuous at present in England.

English authors who turn their thoughts to the poor, make heavy complaints of decaying charity, and increasing poverty : never once dreaming, that these are the genuine effects of a legal provision for the poor ; which on the one hand eradicates the virtue of charity, and on the other is a violent temptation to idleness. Wonderfully ill contrived must the English charity-laws be, when their consequences are to sap the foundation of voluntary charity ; to deprive the labouring poor of their chief comfort, that of providing for themselves and children ; to relax mutual affection between parent and child ; and to reward, instead of punishing, idleness and vice. Consider whether a legal provision for the poor, be sufficient to atone for so many evils.

No man had better opportunity than Fielding to be acquainted with the state of the poor : let us listen to him. “ That the poor
“ are a very great burden, and even a nuisance to the kingdom ;
“ that the laws for relieving their distresses, and restraining their
“ vices, have not answered ; and that they are at present very ill
“ provided for, and much worse governed, are truths which e-
“ very one will acknowledge. Every person who hath property,
“ must feel the weight of the tax that is levied for the poor ; and
“ every person of understanding, must see how absurdly it is ap-
“ plied. So useless indeed is this heavy tax, and so wretched its dis-
“ position, that it is a question, whether the poor or rich are actu-
“ ally more dissatisfied, since the plunder of the one serves so little
“ to the real advantage of the other : for while a million yearly is
“ raised among the rich, many of the poor are starved ; many more
“ languish in want and misery ; of the rest, numbers are found
“ begging or pilfering in the streets to-day, and to-morrow are
“ locked

“ locked up in gaols and Bridewells. If we were to make a progress through the outskirts of the metropolis, and look into the habitations of the poor, we should there behold such pictures of human misery, as must move the compassion of every heart that deserves the name of human. What indeed must be his composition, who could see whole families in want of every necessary of life, oppressed with hunger, cold, nakedness, and filth; and with diseases, the certain consequence of all these! The sufferings indeed of the poor are less known than their misdeeds; and therefore we are less apt to pity them. They starve, and freeze, and rot, among themselves; but they beg, and steal, and rob, among their betters. There is not a parish in the liberty of Westminster, which doth not raise thousands annually for the poor; and there is not a street in that liberty, which doth not swarm all day with beggars, and all night with thieves.”

There is not a single beggar to be seen in Pennsylvania. Luxury and idleness have got no footing in that happy country; and those who suffer by misfortune, have their maintenance out of the public treasury. But luxury and idleness cannot for ever be excluded; and when they take place, this regulation will be as pernicious in Pennsylvania, as the poor-rates are in Britain.

Of the many proposals that have been published for reforming the poor-laws, not one has pierced to the root of the evil. None of the authors entertain the slightest doubt, of a legal provision being necessary, tho' all our distresses arise evidently from that very cause. Travellers complain, of being infested with an endless number of beggars in every English town; a very different scene from what they meet with in Holland or Switzerland. How would it surprise them to be told, that this proceeds from an overflow of charity in the good people of England!

Few institutions are more ticklish than those of charity. In London,

don, common prostitutes are treated with singular humanity: a hospital for them when pregnant, disburdens them of their load, and nurses them till they be again fit for business: another hospital cures them of the venereal disease: and a third receives them with open arms, when, instead of desire, they become objects of averfion. Would not one imagine, that these hospitals have been erected for encouraging prostitution? They undoubtedly have that effect, tho' far from being intended. Mr Stirling, superintendant of the Edinburgh poor-house, deserves to be kept in perpetual remembrance, for a scheme he contrived to reform common prostitutes. A number of them were confined in a house of correction, on a daily allowance of three pence; and even part of that small pittance was embezzled by the servants of the house. Pinching hunger did not reform their manners; for being absolutely idle, they encouraged each other in vice, waiting impatiently for the hour of deliverance. Mr Stirling, with consent of the magistrates, removed them to a clean house; and instead of money, which is apt to be squandered, appointed for each a pound of oat-meal daily, with salt, water, and fire for cooking. Relieved now from distress, they longed for comfort: what would they not give for milk or ale? Work, says he, will procure you plenty. To some who offered to spin, he gave flax and wheels, engaging to pay them half the price of their yarn, retaining the other half for the materials furnished. The spinners earned about nine pence weekly, a comfortable addition to what they had before. The rest undertook to spin, one after another; and before the end of the first quarter, they were all of them intent upon work. It was a branch of his plan, to set free such as merited that favour; and some of them appeared so thoroughly reformed, as to be in no danger of a relapse.

The ingenious author of *The Police of France*, who wrote in the year 1753, observes, that notwithstanding the plentiful provision
for

for the poor in that kingdom, mentioned above, there was a general complaint, of the increase of beggars and vagrants; and adds, that the French political writers, dissatisfied with their own plan, had presented several memorials to the ministry, proposing to adopt the English parochial assessments, as greatly preferable. This is a curious fact; for at the very same time people in London, no less dissatisfied with these assessments, were writing pamphlets in praise of the French hospitals. One thing is certain, that no plan hitherto invented has given satisfaction. Whether an unexceptionable plan is at all possible, seems extremely doubtful.

In every plan for the poor that I have seen, workhouses make one article; to provide work for those who are willing, and to make those work who are unwilling. With respect to the former, men need never be idle in England for want of employment; and they always succeed the best at the employment they chuse for themselves. With respect to the latter, punishment will not compel a man to labour seriously: he may assume the appearance, but will make no progress; and the pretext of sickness or weakness is ever at hand for an excuse. The only compulsion to make a man work seriously, is fear of want.

A hospital for the sick, for the wounded, and for the maimed, is an excellent establishment; being productive of good, without doing any harm. Such a hospital should depend partly on voluntary charity; to procure which a general conviction of its being well managed, is necessary. Hospitals that have a sufficient fund of their own, and that have no dependence on the good will of others, are commonly ill managed.

Lies there any objection against a workhouse, for training to labour destitute orphans, and begging children? It is an article in Mr Hay's plan, that the workhouse should relieve poor families of all their children above three. This has an enticing appearance,
but

but is unsound at bottom. Children require the tenderness of a mother, during the period of infantine diseases; and even after that period, they are far from being safe in the hands of mercenaries, who study nothing but their own ease and interest. Would it not be better, to distribute small sums from time to time among poor families overburdened with children, so as to relieve them from famine, not from labour? And with respect to orphans and begging children, I incline to think, that it would be a more salutary measure, to encourage mechanicks, manufacturers, and farmers above all, to educate such children. A premium for each, the half in hand, and the other half when they can work for themselves, would be a proper encouragement. The best-regulated orphan-hospital I am acquainted with, is that of Edinburgh. Orphans are taken in from every corner, provided only they be not under the age of seven, nor above that of twelve: under seven, they are too tender for a hospital; above twelve, their relations can find employment for them. Beside the being taught to read and write, they are carefully instructed in some art, that may afford them comfortable subsistence.

No man ever called in question the utility of the marine society; which will reflect honour on the members as long as we have a navy to protect us: they deserve a rank above that of gartered knights. That institution is the noblest exertion of charity and patriotism, that ever was known in any country.

A sort of hospital for servants who for twenty years have faithfully adhered to the same master, would be much to my taste; with a few adjoining acres for a kitchen-garden. The fund for purchasing, building, and maintenance, must be raised by contribution; and none but the contributors should be entitled to offer servants to the house. By such encouragement, a malady would be remedied, that of wandering from master to master for better wages, or easier service, which seldom fails to corrupt servants.

vants. They ought to be comfortably provided for, adding to the allowance of the house what pot-herbs are raised by their own labour. A number of virtuous men thus associated, would end their days in comfort; and the prospect of attaining a settlement so agreeable, would form excellent servants. How advantageous would such a hospital prove to husbandry in particular! *by seducing more;*

Of all the mischiefs that have been engendered by over-anxiety *from selfishness* about the poor, none have proved more fatal than foundling-hospitals. They tend to cool affection for children, still more effectually than the English parish-charity. At every occasional pinch for food, away goes a child to the hospital; and parental affection among the lower sort turns so languid, that many who are in no pinch, relieve themselves of trouble by the same means. It is affirmed, that of the children born annually in Paris, about a third part are sent to the foundling-hospital. The Paris almanack for the year 1768, mentions, that there were baptized 18,576 infants, of whom the foundling-hospital received 6025. The proportion originally was much less; but vice creeps on with a swift pace. How enormous must be the degeneracy of the Parisian populace, and their want of parental affection!

Let us next turn to infants shut up in this hospital. Of all animals, infants of the human race are the weakest: they require a mother's affection to guard them against numberless diseases and accidents; a wise appointment of Providence to connect parents and children in the strictest union. In a foundling-hospital, there is no fond mother to watch over her tender babe; and the hireling nurse has no fondness but for her own little profit. Need we any other cause for the destruction of infants in a foundling-hospital, much greater in proportion than of those under the care of a mother? And yet there is another cause equally potent, which is corrupted air. What Hanway observes upon parish-workhouses, is equally applicable to a foundling-hospital.

“ To attempt,” says he, “ to nourish an infant in a workhouse, where a number of nurses are congregated into one room, and consequently the air become putrid, I will pronounce, from intimate knowledge of the subject, to be but a small remove from slaughter; *for the child must die.*” Down then with foundling-hospitals, more noxious than pestilence or famine. An infant exposed at the door of a dwelling-house, must be taken up: but in that case, which seldom happens, the infant has a better chance for life with a hired nurse than in a hospital; and a chance perhaps little worse, bad as it is, than with an unnatural mother. I approve not indeed of a quarterly payment to such a nurse: would it not do better to furnish her bare maintenance for three years; and if the child be alive at that time, to give her a handsome addition?

A house of correction is necessary for good order; but belongs not to the present essay, which concerns maintenance of the poor, not punishment of vagrants. I shall only by the way borrow a thought from Fielding, that fasting is the proper punishment of profligacy, not any punishment that is attended with shame. Punishment, he observes, that deprives a man of all sense of honour, never will contribute to make him virtuous.

Charity-schools might have been proper, when few could read, and fewer write; but these arts are now so common, that in most families children may be taught to read at home, and to write in a private school at little expence. Charity-schools at present are more hurtful than beneficial: young persons who continue there so long as to read and write fluently, become too delicate for hard labour, and too proud for ordinary labour. Knowledge is a dangerous acquisition to the labouring poor: the more of it that is possessed by a shepherd, a ploughman, or any drudge, the less fitted is he to labour with content. The only plausible argument for a charity-school, is, “ That children of the labouring poor are
“ taught

“ taught there the principles of religion and of morality, which they
“ cannot acquire at home.” The argument would be invincible, if without education we could have no knowledge of these principles. But Providence has not left man in a state so imperfect: the principles of theology and of morality are stamped on his heart; and none can be ignorant of them, who attend to their own perceptions. Education is indeed of use to ripen such perceptions; and it is of singular use to those who have time for reading and thinking: but education in a charity-school is so slight, as to render it doubtful, whether it be not more hurtful by fostering laziness, than advantageous by conveying instruction. The natural impressions of religion and morality, if not obscured by vicious habits, are sufficient for good conduct: preserve a man from vice by constant labour, and he will not be deficient in his duty either to God or to man. Hesiod, an ancient and respectable poet, says, that God hath placed labour as a guard to virtue. More integrity accordingly will be found among a number of industrious poor taken at random, than among the same number in any other class.

I heartily approve every regulation that tends to prevent idleness. Chief Justice Hale says, “ That prevention of poverty and
“ idleness would do more good than all the gibbets, whipping-
“ posts, and gaols in the kingdom.” In that view, gaming-houses ought to be heavily taxed, as well as horse-racing, cock-fighting, and all meetings that encourage idleness. The admitting low people to vote for members of parliament, is a source of idleness, corruption, and poverty. The same privilege is ruinous to every small parliament-borough. Nor have I any difficulty to pronounce, that the admitting the populace to vote in the election of a minister, a frequent practice in Scotland, is productive of the same pernicious effects.

What then is to be the result of the foregoing enquiry? Is it from defect of invention that a good legal establishment for the

poor is not yet discovered? or is it impracticable to make any legal establishment that is not fraught with corruption? I incline to the latter, for the following reasons, no less obvious than solid, That in a legal establishment for the poor, no distinction can be made between virtue and vice; and consequently that every such establishment must be a premium for idleness. And where is the necessity, after all, of any public establishment? By what unhappy prejudice have people been led to think, that the Author of our nature, so beneficent to his favourite man in every other respect, has abandoned the indigent to famine and death, if municipal law interpose not? We need but inspect the human heart to be convinced, that persons in distress are his peculiar care. Not only has he made it our duty to afford them relief, but has superadded the passion of pity to enforce the performance of that duty. This branch of our nature fulfils in perfection all the salutary purposes of charity, without admitting any one of the deplorable evils that a legal provision is fraught with. The contrivance, at the same time, is extremely simple: it leaves to every man the objects as well as measure of his charity. No man esteems it a duty to relieve wretches reduced to poverty by idleness and profligacy: they move not our pity; nor do they expect any good from us. Wisely therefore is it ordered by Providence, that charity should in every respect be voluntary, to prevent the idle and profligate from depending on it for support.

This plan is in many respects excellent. The exercise of charity, when free from compulsion, is extremely pleasant. The pleasure, it is true, is scarce felt where charity is rendered unnecessary by municipal law; but were that law laid aside, the gratification of pity would become one of our sweetest pleasures. Charity, like other affections, is invigorated by exercise, and no less enfeebled by disuse. Providence withal hath scattered benevolence among the sons of men with a liberal hand: and notwithstanding

standing the obstruction of municipal law, seldom is there found one so obdurate, as to resist the impulse of compassion, when a proper object is presented. In a well regulated government, promoting industry and virtue, the persons who need charity are not many; and such persons may, with assurance, depend on the charity of their neighbours *.

It may, at the same time, be boldly affirmed, that those who need charity, would be more comfortably provided for by the plan of Providence, than by any legal establishment. Creatures, loathsome by disease or nastiness, affect the air in a poor-house, and have little chance for life, without more care and kindness, than can be hoped from servants, rendered callous by continual scenes of misery. Consider, on the other hand, the consequences of voluntary charity, equally agreeable to the giver and receiver. The kindly connection it forms between them, grows stronger and stronger by reiteration; and squalid poverty, far from being an obstruction, excites a degree of pity, proportioned to the distress. It may happen for a wonder, that an indigent person is overlooked; but for one who will suffer by such neglect, multitudes suffer by compelled charity.

But what I insist on with peculiar satisfaction is, that natural charity is an illustrious support to virtue. Indigent virtue can never fail of relief, because it never fails to enflame compassion. Indigent vice, on the contrary, raises indignation more than pity (a); and therefore can have little prospect of relief. What a

* The Italians are not more remarkable for a charitable disposition, than their neighbours. No fewer however than seventy thousand mendicant friars live there upon voluntary charity; and I have not heard that any one of them ever died of want.

(a) Elements of Criticism, chap. 2. part 7.

glorious excitement to industry and virtue, and how discouraging to idleness and vice! Lamentable it is, that so beautiful a structure should be razed to the ground by municipal law, which, in providing for the poor, makes no distinction between virtue and vice. The execution of the poor-laws would indeed be impracticable, were such a distinction attempted by enquiring into the conduct and character of every *pauper*. Where are judges to be found who will patiently follow out such a dark and intricate expiscation? To accomplish the task, a man must abandon every other concern.

In the first English statutes mentioned above, the legislature appear carefully to have avoided compulsory charity: every measure for promoting voluntary charity was first try'd, before the fatal blow was struck, empowering parish-officers to impose a tax for the poor. The legislature certainly did not foresee the baneful consequences: but how came they not to see that they were distrusting Providence, declaring in effect, that the plan established by our Maker for the poor, is insufficient? Many are the municipal laws that enforce the laws of nature, by additional rewards and punishments; but it was singularly bold to abolish the natural law of charity, by establishing a legal tax in its stead. Men will always be mending: what a confused jumble do they make, when they attempt to mend the laws of Nature! Leave Nature to her own operations: she understands them the best.

Few regulations are more plausible than what are political; and yet few are more deceitful. An ingenious writer makes the following observations upon the 43^o Elis. establishing a maintenance for the poor. "Laws have been enacted in many other countries, which have punished the idle beggar, and exhorted the rich to extend their charity to the poor: but it is peculiar to the humanity of England, to have made their support a matter of obligation and necessity on the more wealthy. The English

“lish seem to be the first nation in Europe in science, arts, and
“arms: they likewise are possessed of the freest and most perfect
“of constitutions, and the blessings consequential to that free-
“dom. If virtues in an individual are sometimes supposed to be
“rewarded in this world, I do not think it too presumptuous to
“suppose, that national virtues may likewise meet with their re-
“ward. England hath, to its peculiar honour, not only made
“their poor free, but hath provided a certain and solid establish-
“ment to prevent their necessities and indigence, when they a-
“rise from what the law calls *the act of God*: and are not these
“beneficent and humane attentions to the miseries of our fellow-
“creatures, the first of those poor pleas which we are capable of
“offering, in behalf of our imperfections, to an all-wise and
“merciful Creator!” To this writer, who shows more zeal than
knowledge, I oppose another, whose reflections are more rational.
“In England, there is an act of the legislature, obliging every
“parish to maintain its own poor. Scarce any man living, who
“has not seen the effects of this law, but must approve of it; and
“yet such are its effects, that the streets of London are filled
“with objects of misery beyond what is seen in any other city.
“The labouring poor, depending on this law to be provided in
“sickness and old age, are little solicitous to save, and become
“habitually profuse. The principle of charity is established by
“Providence in the human heart, for relieving those who are dis-
“abled to work for themselves. And if the labouring poor had
“no dependence but on the principle of charity, they would be
“more religious; and if they were influenced by religion, they
“would be less abandoned in their behaviour. Thus this seem-
“ing-good act turns to a national evil: there is more distress a-
“mong the poor in London than any where in Europe; and
“more drunkenness both in males and females (a).”

(a) Author of Angeloni's letters.

I am aware, that during the reign of Elizabeth, some compulsion might be necessary to preserve the poor from starving. Henry VIII. had sequestered all the hospitals, a hundred and ten in number, and squandered their revenues; he had also demolished all the abbeys. By these means, the poor were reduced to a miserable condition; especially as private charity, for want of exercise, was at a low ebb. That critical juncture required indeed help from the legislature: and a temporary provision for the poor would have been a proper measure; so contrived as not to supersede voluntary charity, but rather to promote it. Unlucky it is for England, that such a measure was overlooked; but Queen Elizabeth and her parliaments had not the talent of foreseeing consequences without the aid of experience. A perpetual tax for the poor was imposed, the most pernicious tax that ever was imposed in any country.

With respect to the present times, the reason now given pleads against abolishing at once a legal provision for the poor. It may be taken for granted, that charity is in England not more vigorous at present, than it was in the days of Elizabeth. Would our ministry but lead the way, by showing some zeal for a reformation, expedients would probably be invented, for supporting the poor, without unhinging voluntary charity. The following expedient is proposed, merely as a specimen. Let a tax be imposed by parliament on every parish for their poor, variable in proportion to the number; but not to exceed the half of what is necessary; and directing the landholders to make up quarterly, a list of the names and condition of such persons as in their opinion need charity; with an estimate of what each ought to have weekly. The public tax makes the half, and the other half is to be raised by voluntary contribution. To prevent collusion, the roll of the poor, and their weekly appointment, with a subscription of gentlemen for their part of the sum, shall be examined by the justices

justices of peace at a quarterly meeting ; who, on receiving satisfaction, must order the sum arising from the public tax to be distributed among the poor contained in the roll, according to the estimate of the landholders. As the public fund lies dead till the subscription is completed, it is not to be imagined, that any gentleman will stand out : it would be a public imputation on his character. Far from apprehending any deficiency, confident I am, that every gentleman would consider it as honourable to contribute largely. This agreeable work must be blended with what is rather disagreeable, that of excluding from the roll every profligate, male or female. If that rule be followed out with a proper degree of severity, the innocent poor will diminish daily ; so as in time to be safely left upon voluntary charity, without necessity of any tax.

But must miserable wretches, reduced to poverty by idleness or intemperance, be, in a Christian country, abandoned to diseases and famine ? It is this very argument, shallow as it is, that has corrupted the industry of England, and reduced multitudes to diseases and famine. Those who are able to work, may be locked up in a house of correction, to be fed with bread and water ; but with liberty of working for themselves. And as for the remainder, their case is not desperate, when they have access to such tender-hearted persons as are more eminent for pity than for principle. If by neglect or oversight any happen to die of want, the example will tend more to reformation, than the most pathetic discourse from the pulpit.

Even at the hazard of losing a few lives by neglect or oversight, common begging ought absolutely to be prohibited. The most profligate, are the most impudent, and the most expert at feigning distress. If begging be indulged to any, all will rush into the public : idlers are fond of that wandering and indolent sort of life ; and there is no temptation to idleness more successful, than liberty

to beg. In order to be relieved from common beggars, it has been proposed, to fine those who give them alms. Little penetration must they have, to whom the insufficiency of such a remedy is not palpable. It is easy to give alms without being seen; and compassion will extort alms, even at the hazard of suffering for it; not to mention, that every one in such a case will avoid the odious character of an informer. The following remedy is suggested, as what probably may answer better. An officer must be appointed in every parish, with a competent salary, for apprehending and carrying to the workhouse every strolling beggar; under the penalty of losing his office, with what salary is due to him, if any beggar be found strolling four and twenty hours after the fact comes to his knowledge. In the workhouse such beggars shall be fed with bread and water for a year, but with liberty of working for themselves.

I declare resolutely against a perpetual tax for the poor. But if there must be such a tax, I know of none less subversive of industry and morals, than that established in Scotland, obliging the landholders in every parish to meet at stated times, in order to provide a fund for the poor; but leaving the objects of their charity, and the measure, to their own humanity and discretion. In this plan, there is no encroachment on the natural duty of charity, but only that the minority must submit to the opinion of the majority.

In large towns, where the character and circumstances of the poor are not so well known as in country-parishes, the following variation is proposed. Instead of landholders, who are proper in country-parishes, let there be in each town-parish a standing committee, to be chosen by the proprietors of houses, the third part to be changed annually. This committee, with the minister, make up a list of such as deserve charity, adding an estimate of what, with their own labour, may be sufficient for each of them. The minister,

nister, with one or two of the committee, carry about this list to every family that can afford charity, suggesting what may be proper for each to contribute. This list, with an addition of the sum contributed or promised by each householder, must be affixed on the principal door of the parish-church, to honour the contributors, and to inform the poor of the provision made for them. Some such mode may probably be effectual, without transgressing the bounds of voluntary charity. But if any one obstinately refuse to contribute after several applications, the committee at their discretion may tax him. If it be the possessor who declines contributing, the tax must be laid upon him, reserving relief against his landlord.

In great towns, the poor, who ought to be prohibited from begging, are less known than in country-parishes. And among a croud of inhabitants, it is easier for an individual to escape the eye of the public, when he with-holds charity, than in country-parishes. Both defects will be remedied by the plan above proposed: it will bring to light, in great cities, the poor who deserve charity; and it will bring to light every person who with-holds charity.

S K E T C H XI.

A GREAT CITY considered in Physical, Moral,
and Political Views.

IN all ages an opinion seems to have been prevalent, that a great city is a great evil, and that a capital may be too great for the state, as a head may be for the body. Considering however the very shallow reasons that have been given for this opinion, it should seem to be but slightly founded. There are several ordinances limiting the extent of Paris, and prohibiting new buildings beyond the prescribed bounds; the first of which is by Henry II. ann. 1549. These ordinances have been renewed from time to time, down to the 1672, in which year there is an edict of Louis XIV. to the same purpose. The reasons assigned are, "First, That by enlarging the city, the air would be rendered unwholesome. Second, That cleaning the streets would prove a great additional labour. Third, That adding to the number of inhabitants would raise the price of provisions, of labour, and of manufactures. Fourth, That ground would be covered with buildings instead of corn, which might hazard a scarcity. Fifth, That the country would be depopulated by the desire that people have to resort to the capital. And, lastly, That the difficulty of governing such numbers would be an encouragement to robbery and murder."

These reasons for confining the city of Paris within certain bounds are wonderfully shallow. The most important of them conclude

conclude justly against permitting an increase of inhabitants : the second and fourth conclude only against enlarging the city ; and these, at the best, are trifling. The first reason urged against enlarging the city, is a solid reason for enlarging it, supposing the numbers to be limited ; for to prevent crowding is an excellent preventive of unwholesome air. Paris, with the same number of inhabitants that were in the days of the fourth Henry, occupies thrice the space, much to the health as well as comfort of the inhabitants. Had the ordinances mentioned been made effectual, the houses in Paris must all have been built, like those in the old town, story above story, ascending to the sky like the tower of Babel. Before the great fire *anno* 1666, the plague was frequent in London ; but by widening the streets, and enlarging the houses, there has not since been known in that great city, any contagious distemper that deserves the name of a plague. The third, fifth, and last reasons, conclude against permitting any addition to the number of inhabitants ; but conclude nothing against enlarging the town. In a word, the measure adopted in these ordinances has little or no tendency to correct the evils complained of ; and infallibly would enflame the chief of them. The measure that ought to have been adopted, is to limit the number of inhabitants, not the extent of the town.

Queen Elisabeth of England, copying the French ordinances, issued a proclamation *anno* 1602, prohibiting any new buildings within three miles of London. The preamble is in the following words : “ That foreseeing the great and manifold inconveniencies
“ and mischiefs which daily grow, and are likely to increase, in
“ the city and suburbs of London, by confluence of people to inhabit the same ; not only by reason that such multitudes can
“ hardly be governed to serve God, and obey her Majesty, without constituting an addition of new officers, and enlarging their
“ authority ; but also can hardly be provided of food and other
“ necessaries

“ necessities at a reasonable price ; and finally, that as such multitudes of people, many of them poor, who must live by begging, or worse means, are heaped up together, and in a sort smothered, with many children and servants, in one house or small tenement ; it must needs follow, if any plague or other universal sickness come amongst them, that it would presently spread through the whole city and confines, and also into all parts of the realm.”

There appears no deeper penetration in this proclamation, than in the French ordinances. The same error is observable in both, which is the limiting the extent of the town, instead of limiting the number of inhabitants. True it is indeed, that the regulation would have a better effect in London than in Paris. As stone is in plenty about Paris, houses there may be carried to a very great height ; and are actually so carried in the old town : but there being no stone about London, the houses formerly were built of timber, now of brick ; materials too frail for a lofty edifice.

Proceeding to particulars, the first objection, which is the expence of governing a great multitude, concludes against the numbers, not against the extent of the city. At the same time, the objection is at best doubtful in point of fact. Tho' vices abound in a great city, requiring the strictest attention of the magistrate ; yet with a well-regulated police, it is much less expensive to govern 600,000 in one city, than the same number in ten different cities. The second objection, viz. the high price of provisions, strikes only against numbers, not extent. Beside, whatever might have been the case in the days of Elizabeth, when agriculture and internal commerce were in their infancy ; there are at present not many towns in England, where a temperate man may live cheaper than in London. The hazard of contagious distempers, which is the third objection, is an invincible argument against limiting the extent of a great town. It is mentioned above, that from the
year

year 1666, when the streets were widened, and the houses enlarged, London has never been once visited by the plague. If the proclamation had taken effect, the houses must have been so crowded upon each other, and the streets so contracted, as to have occasioned plagues still more frequently than before the year 1666.

The ministry of the Queen's immediate successors were not more clear-sighted than she and her ministers were. In the year 1624, King James issued a proclamation against building in London upon new foundations. Charles I. issued two proclamations to the same purpose; one in the year 1625, and one in the year 1630.

The progress of political knowledge has unfolded many bad effects of a great city, more weighty than any urged in these proclamations. The first I shall mention is, that people born and bred in a great city are commonly weak and effeminate. Vegetius (*a*) observing, that men bred to husbandry make the best soldiers, adds what follows. "Interdum tamen necessitas exigit, etiam urbanos ad arma compelli: qui ubi nomen dedere militiæ, primum laborare, decurrere, portare pondus, et solem pulveremque ferre, condiscant; parco victu utantur et rustico; interdum sub divo, interdum sub papilionibus, commorentur. Tunc demum ad usum erudiantur armorum: et si longior expeditio emergit, in angariis plurimum detinendi sunt, proculque habendi a civitatis illecebris: ut eo modo, et corporibus eorum robur accedat, et animis *." The luxury of a great city descends

(*a*) De re militari, lib. 1. cap. 3.

* "But sometimes there is a necessity for arming the townspeople, and calling them out to service. When this is the case, it ought to be the first care, to enure them to labour, to march them up and down the country, to make them carry heavy burdens, and to harden them against the weather. Their food should

descends from the highest to the lowest, infecting all ranks of men ; and there is little opportunity in it for such exercise as renders the body vigorous and robust. This is a physical objection against a great city : the next regards morality. Virtue is exerted chiefly in restraint : vice, in giving freedom to desire. Moderation and self-command form a character the most susceptible of virtue : superfluity of animal spirits, and love of pleasure, form a character the most liable to vice. Low vices, pilfering for example, or lying, draw few or no imitators ; but vices that indicate a foul absence of restraint, fail not to produce admirers. Where a man boldly struggles against unlawful restraint, he is justly applauded and imitated ; and the vulgar are not apt to distinguish nicely between lawful and unlawful restraint : the boldness is visible, and they pierce no deeper. It is the unruly boy, full of animal spirits, who at public school is admired and imitated ; not the virtuous and modest. Vices accordingly that show spirit, are extremely infectious ; virtue very little. Hence the corruption of a great city, which increases more and more in proportion to the number of inhabitants. But it is sufficient here barely to mention that objection ; because it has been much insisted on in antecedent parts of this work.

The following bad effects are more of a political nature. A great town is a professed enemy to the free circulation of money. The current coin is accumulated in the capital : and distant provinces must sink into idleness ; for without ready money neither

“ should be coarse and scanty, and they should be habituated to sleep alternately
 “ in their tents, and in the open air. Then is the time to instruct them in the ex-
 “ ercise of their arms. If the expedition is a distant one, they should be chiefly
 “ employ’d in the stations of posts or expresses, and removed as much as possible
 “ from the dangerous allurements that abound in large cities ; that thus they may
 “ be enervated both in mind and body.”

arts

arts nor manufactures can flourish. Thus we find less and less activity, in proportion commonly to the distance from the capital, and an absolute torpor in the extremities. It may be observed beside, that as horses in a great city must be provided with provender from a distance, the country is robbed of its dung for the benefit of the rich fields round the city. But as manure laid upon poor land is of more advantage to the farmer than upon what is already highly improved, the depriving distant parts of manure is a loss to the country in general. Nor is this all: The dung of an extensive city, the bulk of it at least, is so remote from the fields to which it must be carried, that the expence of carriage swallows up the profit.

Another bad effect of accumulating money in the capital is, to raise there the price of labour; and the temptation of high wages, making every one flock to the capital, robs the country of its best hands. And as they who resort to the capital are commonly young people, who remove as soon as they are fit for work, distant provinces are burdened with their maintenance, without reaping any benefit by their labour.

But of all, the most deplorable effect of a great city, is the preventing of population, by shortening the lives of its inhabitants. Does a capital swell in proportion to the numbers that are drained from the country? Far from it. The air of a populous city is infected by multitudes crowded together; and people there seldom make out the usual time of life. With respect to London in particular, the fact is but too well ascertained. The burials in that immense city greatly exceed the births: the difference some affirm to be no less than ten thousand yearly: by the most moderate computation, not under seven or eight thousand. As London is far from being on the decline, the consumption of so many inhabitants must be supplied from the country; and the annual supply amounts probably to a greater number than were needed annually for recruiting our armies and navies in the late war with

France. If so, London is a greater enemy to population, than a bloody war would be, supposing it even to be perpetual. What an enormous tax is Britain thus subjected to for supporting her capital! The rearing and educating yearly for London 7 or 8000 persons, require an immense sum.

In Paris, if the bills of mortality can be relied on, the births and burials are nearly equal, being each of them about 19,000 yearly; and according to that computation, Paris should need no recruits from the country. But in that city, the bills of mortality cannot be depended on for burials. It is there universally the practice of high and low, to have their infants nursed in the country, till they be three years of age; and consequently those who die before that age, are not inlisted. What proportion these bear to the whole is uncertain. But a guess may be made from such as die in London; which are computed to be one half of the whole that die (*a*). Now giving the utmost allowance for the healthiness of the country above that of a town, Paris children that die in the country before the age of three, cannot be brought so low as a third of those that die. On the other hand, the London bills of mortality are less to be depended on for births than for burials. None are inlisted but infants baptized by clergymen of the English church; and the numerous children of Papists, Dissenters, and other sectaries, are left out of the account. Upon the whole, the difference between the births and burials in Paris and in London, is much less than it appears to be on comparing the bills of mortality of these two cities.

At the same time, giving full allowance for children that are not brought into the London bills of mortality, there is the highest probability that a greater number of children are born in Paris than in London; and consequently that the former requires fewer recruits from the country than the latter. In Paris, dome-

(*a*) See Dr Price, p. 362.

fic servants are encouraged to marry: they are observed to be more settled than when bachelors, and more attentive to their duty. In London, such marriages are discouraged, as rendering a servant more attentive to his own family, than to that of his master. But a servant attentive to his own family, will not, for his own sake, neglect that of his master. At any rate, is he not more to be depended on, than a servant who continues a bachelor? What can be expected of idle and pampered bachelors, but debauchery and every sort of corruption? Nothing restrains them from absolute profligacy, but the eye of the master, who for that reason is their aversion not their love. If the poor-laws be named the folio of corruption, bachelor-servants in London may well be considered as a large appendix. And this attracts the eye to the poor-laws, which indeed make the chief difference between Paris and London, with respect to the present point. In Paris, certain funds are established for the poor, the yearly produce of which admits but a limited number. As that fund is always pre-occupied, the low people who are not on the list, have little or no prospect of bread, but from their own industry; and to the industrious, marriage is in a great measure necessary. In London, a parish is taxed in proportion to the number of its poor; and every person who is pleased to be idle, is entitled to maintenance. Most things thrive by encouragement, and idleness above all. Certainty of maintenance, renders the low people in England idle and profligate; especially in London, where luxury prevails, and infects every rank. So insolent are the London poor, that scarce one of them will condescend to eat brown bread. There are accordingly in London, a much greater number of idle and profligate wretches, than in Paris, or in any other town in proportion to the number of inhabitants. These wretches, in Doctor Swift's style, never think of posterity, because posterity never thinks of them: men who hunt after pleasure, and live from day to day,

have no notion of being burdened with a family. These causes produce a greater number of children in Paris than in London; tho' probably they differ not much in populousness.

I shall add but one other objection to a great city, which is not slight. An overgrown capital, far above a rival, has, by numbers and riches, a distressing influence in public affairs. The populace are ductile, and easily misled by ambitious and designing magistrates. Nor are there wanting critical times, in which such magistrates, acquiring artificial influence, may have power to disturb the public peace. That an overgrown capital may prove dangerous to sovereignty, has more than once been experienced both in Paris and London.

It would give one the spleen, to hear the French and English zealously disputing about the extent of their capitals, as if the prosperity of their country depended on that circumstance. To me it appears like one glorying in the king's-evil, or in any contagious distemper. Much better employ'd would they be, in contriving means for lessening those cities. There is not a political measure, that, in my opinion, would tend more to aggrandize the kingdom of France, or of Britain, than to split its capital into several great towns. My plan would be, to confine the inhabitants of London to 100,000, composed of the King and his household, supreme courts of justice, government-boards, prime nobility and gentry, with necessary shopkeepers, artists, and other dependents. Let the rest of the inhabitants be distributed into nine towns properly situated; some for internal commerce, some for foreign. Such a plan would diffuse life and vigour thro' every corner of the island.

To execute such a plan, would, I acknowledge, require the deepest political skill, and much perseverance. I shall suggest what occurs at present. The first step must be, to mark proper spots for the nine towns, the most advantageous for trade, or for manufactures.

manufactures. If any of these spots be occupied already with small towns, so much the better. The next step is a capitation-tax on the inhabitants of London; the sum levied to be appropriated for encouraging the new towns. One encouragement would have a good effect; which is, a premium to every man who builds in any of these towns, more or less, in proportion to the size of the house. This tax would banish from London, every manufacture but of the most lucrative kind. When, by this means, the inhabitants of London are reduced to a number not much above 100,000, the near prospect of being relieved from the tax, will make every householder active to banish all above that number: and to prevent a renewal of the tax, a greater number will never again be permitted. It would require great penetration to proportion the sums to be levied and distributed, so as to have their proper effect, without overburdening the capital on the one hand, or giving too great encouragement for building on the other, which might tempt people to build for the premium merely, without any further view. Much will depend on an advantageous situation: houses built there will always find inhabitants.

The two great cities of London, and Westminster are extremely ill fitted for local union. The latter, the seat of government and of the noblesse, infects the former with luxury and with love of show. The former, the seat of commerce, infects the latter with love of gain. The mixture of these opposite passions, is productive of every groveling vice.

S K E T C H

S K E T C H XII.

Origin and Progress of AMERICAN NATIONS.

HAVING no authentic materials for a natural history of all the Americans, the following observations shall be confined to a few tribes, the best known; and to the kingdoms of Peru and Mexico, as they were at the date of the Spanish conquest.

As there appears no passage by land to America from the old world, no problem has more embarrassed the learned, than to give an account from whence the Americans sprung: there are as many different opinions, as there are writers. Many attempts have been made for discovering a passage by land; but hitherto in vain. Kamiskatka, it is true, is divided from America by a narrow strait, full of islands: and M. Buffon, to render the passage still more easy than by sea, conjectures, that thereabout there may formerly have been a land-passage, tho' now wash'd away by violence of the ocean. There is indeed great appearance of truth in this conjecture; as all the quadrupeds of the north of Asia seem to have made their way to America; the bear, for example, the roe, the deer, the rain-deer, the beaver, the wolf, the fox, the hare, the rat, the mole. He admits, that in America there is not to be seen a lion, a tiger, a panther, or any other Asiatic quadruped of a hot climate: not, says he, for want of a land-passage;

sage; but because the cold climate of Tartary, in which such animals cannot subsist, is an effectual bar against them *.

But in my apprehension, much more is required to give satisfaction upon this subject, than a passage from Kamskatka to America, whether by land or sea. An enquiry much more decisive is totally overlooked, relative to the people on the two sides of the strait; particularly, whether they speak the same language. Now by late accounts from Russia we are informed, that there is no affinity between the Kamskatkan tongue, and that of the Americans on the opposite side of the strait. Whence we may conclude, with great certainty, that the latter are not a colony of the former.

But I go farther. There are several cogent arguments to evince, that the Americans are not descended from any people in the north of Asia or in the north of Europe. Were they descended from either, Labrador, or the adjacent countries, must have been first peopled. And as savages are remarkably fond of their natal soil, they would have continued there, till by over-population they should have been compelled to spread wider for food. But the fact is directly contrary. When America was discovered by the Spaniards, Mexico and Peru were fully peopled; and the other parts less and less, in proportion to their distance from these central countries. Fabry reports, that one may travel one or two hundred leagues north-west from the Mississippi, without seeing a human face, or any vestige of a house. And some French offi-

* Our author, with singular candor, admits it as a strong objection to his theory, that there are no rein-deer in Asia. But it is doing no more but justice to so fair a reasoner, to observe, that according to the latest accounts, there are plenty of rein-deer in the country of Kamskatka, which of all is the nearest to America.

cers say, that they travelled more than a hundred leagues from the delicious country watered by the Ohio, through Louisiana, without meeting a single family of savages. Labrador is very thin of inhabitants; no people having been discovered in it, but the Esquimaux, a very small tribe. And as that tribe has plenty of food at home, there is no appearance, that they ever sent a colony to any other part of America. The civilization of the Mexicans and Peruvians, as well as their populousness, make it extremely probable that they were the first inhabitants of America. In travelling northward, the people are more and more ignorant and savage: the Esquimaux, the most northern of all, are the most savage. In travelling southward, the Patagonians, the most southern of all, are so stupid as to go naked in a bitter cold region.

I venture still farther; which is, to conjecture, that America has not been peopled from any part of the old world. The external appearance of the inhabitants, makes this conjecture approach to a certainty; as that appearance differs widely from the appearance of any other known people. Excepting the eye-lashes, eye-brows, and hair of the head, which is invariably jet black, there is not a single hair on the body of any American: not the least appearance of a beard. Another distinguishing mark is their copper-colour, uniformly the same in all climates, hot and cold; and differing from the colour of all other nations. Ulloa remarks, that the Americans of Cape Breton, resemble the Peruvians in complexion, in manners, and in customs; the only visible difference being, that the former are of a larger stature. A third circumstance no less distinguishing is, that American children are born with down upon the skin, which disappears the eighth or ninth day, and never grows again. Children of the old world are born with skins smooth and polished, and no down appears till puberty.

That the original inhabitants of America are a race distinct from
all

all others, I once thought demonstrable from some reports concerning the Esquimaux. The author of the history of New France and several other writers report, that the Esquimaux are bold, mischievous, suspicious, and untamable; that it is not even safe to converse with them but at a distance; that no European skin is whiter; and that they are bearded up to the eyes. Supposing these facts to be true, had I not reason to believe, that the Esquimaux must have sprung from some nation in the north of Europe or Asia, tho' I could not pretend to say, whether the transmigration was by land or sea? From the same facts, however, I was forc'd to conclude, that the rest of the Americans could not have had the same origin; for if the Canadians or any other American nation were of Asiatic or European extraction, they must, like the Esquimaux, have had a beard and white skin to this day. But one cannot be too cautious in giving faith to odd or singular facts, reported of distant nations. It is discovered by later accounts more worthy of credit, that the foregoing description of the Esquimaux is false in every particular. Of all the northern nations, not excepting the Laplanders, the Esquimaux are of the smallest size, few of them exceeding four feet in height. They have heads extremely gross, feet and hands very small. That they are neither cruel nor suspicious, appears from what Ellis says in his account of a voyage *anno* 1747, for discovering a north-west passage, that they offered their wives to the English sailors, with expressions of satisfaction for being able to accommodate them. But what is the most to the present purpose; they are of a copper colour, like the other Americans, only a degree lighter, occasioned probably by the intense cold of their climate; and they are also altogether destitute of a beard. It is common indeed among them, to bring forward the hair of the head upon the face, for preserving it from flies, which rage in that country during summer; an appearance

pearance that probably has been mistaken by travellers for a beard.

It has been lately discovered, that the language of the Esquimaux is the same with that of the Greenlanders. A Danish missionary, who by some years residence in Greenland had acquired the language of that country, made a voyage with Commodore Palliser to Newfoundland ann. 1764. Meeting a company of about two hundred Esquimaux, he was agreeably surprised to hear the Greenland tongue. They received him kindly, and drew from him a promise to return the next year. And we are informed by Crantz, in his history of Greenland, that the same Danish missionary visited them the very next year, in company with the Rev. Mr Draught. They agreed, that the difference between the Esquimaux language and that of Greenland was not greater than between the dialects of North and South Greenland, which differ not so much as the High and Low Dutch. Both nations call themselves *Innuït* or *Karalit*, and call the Europeans *Kablunet*. Their stature, features, manners, dress, tents, darts, and boats, are entirely the same. As the language of Greenland resembles not the language of Finland, Lapland, Norway, Tartary, nor that of the Samoides, it is evident, that neither the Esquimaux nor Greenlanders are a colony from any of the countries mentioned. Geographers begin now to conjecture, that Greenland is a part of the continent of North America, without intervention of any sea *. One thing is certain, that the Greenlanders resemble the North-Americans in every particular: they are of a copper colour, and have no beard; they are of a small size, like the Esquimaux, and have the same

* The Danes had a settlement in Greenland long before Columbus saw the West Indies. Would it not appear paradoxical to say, that America was discovered by the Danes long before the time of Columbus, and long before they knew that they had made the discovery?

language.

language. And thus I am obliged to abandon my favourite argument, for proving the Americans, the Esquimaux excepted, to be indigenous, and not indebted to the old world for their existence. At the same time, the other arguments urged above remain entire; and from what is now said a circumstance occurs, that fortifies greatly the chief of them. People, who with a bold face surmount all difficulties rather than give up a favourite opinion, make light of the copper colour and want of beard, willing to attribute all to the climate. We want *data*, I acknowledge, to determine with accuracy what effects can be produced by a climate. But luckily we have no occasion at present to determine that difficult point. It is sufficient that the climate of Labrador is much the same with that of the northern parts of Europe and Asia. From that circumstance I conclude with certainty, that the copper colour and want of beard in the Esquimaux cannot be the result of climate. And if so, what foundation can there be for making these circumstances depend on the climate in any other part of America? Truly none at all. I add, that as the copper colour and want of beard continue invariably the same in every variety of climate, hot and cold, moist and dry, they must depend on some invariable cause acting uniformly; which may be a singularity in the race of people (*a*), but cannot proceed from the climate.

If we can rely on the conjectures of an eminent writer (*b*), America emerged from the sea later than any other part of the known world: and supposing the human race to have been planted in America by the hand of God later than the days of Moses, Adam and Eve might have been the first parents of mankind, *i. e.* of all who at that time existed, without being the first parents of the Americans.

(*a*) Book I. sketch 1.

(*b*) M. Buffon.

The *Terra Australis incognita* is separated from the rest of the world by a wide ocean, which carries a ship round the earth without interruption. How has that continent been peopled? There is not the slightest probability, that it ever has been joined to any other land. Here a local creation, if it may be termed so, appears unavoidable; and if we must admit more than one act of creation, even the appearance of difficulty, from reiteration of acts, totally vanisheth. M. Buffon, in his natural history, bears testimony, that not a single American quadruped of a hot climate is found in any other part of the earth: with respect to these we must unavoidably admit a local creation; and nothing seems more natural, than under the same act to comprehend the first parents of the American people.

It is possible, indeed, that a ship with men and women may, by contrary winds, be carried to a very distant shore. But to account thus for the peopling of America, will not be much relieved: Mexico and Peru must have been planted before navigation was known in the old world, at least before a ship was brought to such perfection as to bear a long course of bad weather. Will it be thought, that any supposition ought to be embraced, however improbable, rather than admit a separate creation? We are, it is true, much in the dark as to the conduct of creative providence; but every rational conjecture leans to a separate creation. America and the *Terra Australis* must have been planted by the Almighty with a number of animals and vegetables, some of them peculiar to those vast continents: and when such care has been taken about inferior life, can so wild a thought be admitted, as that man, the noblest work of terrestrial creation, would be left to chance? But it is scarce necessary to insist upon this topic, as the external characters of the Americans above mentioned reject the supposition of their being descended from any people of the old world.

It is highly probable, that the fertile and delicious plains of Peru and Mexico were the first planted of all the American countries; being more populous at the time of the Spanish invasion, than any other part of that great continent. This conjecture is supported by analogy: we believe that a spot, not central only, but extremely fertile, was chosen for the parents of the old world; and there is not in America a spot more central, or more fertile, than Mexico or Peru, for the parents of the new world.

Having thus ventured to throw out what occurred upon the origin of the Americans, without pretending to affirm any thing as certain, we proceed to their progress. The North-American tribes are remarkable with respect to one branch of their history, that, instead of advancing, like other nations, toward the maturity of society and government, they continue to this hour in their original state of hunting and fishing. A case so singular rouses our curiosity; and we wish to be made acquainted with the cause.

It is not the want of animals capable to be domesticated, that obliges them to remain hunters and fishers. The horse, it is true, the sheep, the goat, were imported from Europe; but there are plenty of American quadrupeds no less docile than those mentioned. There is, in particular, a species of horned cattle peculiar to America, having long wool instead of hair, and an excrescence upon the shoulder like that of the East-India buffalo. These wild cattle multiply exceedingly in the fertile countries which the Mississippi traverses; and Hennepin reports, that the Indians, after killing numbers, take no part away but the tongue, which is reckoned a delicious morsel. These creatures are not extremely wild; and, if taken young, are easily tamed: a calf, when its dam is killed, will follow the hunter, and lick his hand. The wool, the hide, the tallow, would be of great value in the British colonies.

If the shepherd-state be not obstructed in America by want of proper

proper cattle, the only account that can or need be given is, paucity of inhabitants. Consider only the influence of custom, in rivetting men to their local situation and manner of life : once hunters, they will always be hunters, till some cause more potent than custom force them out of that state. Want of food, occasioned by rapid population, brought on the shepherd-state in the old world. That cause has not hitherto taken place in North America : the inhabitants, few in number, remain hunters and fishers, because that state affords them a competency of food. I am aware, that the natives have been decreasing in number from the time of the first European settlements. But even at that time the country was ill peopled : take for example the country above described, stretching north-west from the Mississippi : the Europeans never had any footing there, and yet to this day it is little better than a desert. I give other examples. The Indians who surround the lake Nipissing, from whence the river St Laurence issues, are in whole but five or six thousand ; and yet their country is of great extent : they live by hunting and fishing, having bows and arrows, but no fire-arms ; and their cloathing is the skins of beasts : they are seldom, if ever, engaged in war ; have no commerce with any other people, Indian or European, but live as if they had a world to themselves (*a*). If that country be ill peopled, it is not from scarcity of food ; for the country is extensive, and well stored with every sort of game. On the south and west of the lake Superior, the country is level and fruitful all the way to the Mississippi, having large plains covered with rank grass, and scarce a tree for hundreds of miles : the inhabitants enjoy the greatest plenty of fish, fowl, deer, &c. ; and yet their numbers are far from being in proportion to their means of subsistence. In short, it is the conjecture of the ablest writers, that in the vast extent of North

(*a*) Account of North America by Major Robert Rogers.

America, when discovered, there were not as many people, laying aside Mexico, as in the half of Europe.

Paucity of inhabitants explains clearly why the North-American tribes remain hunters and fishers, without advancing to the shepherd-state. But if the foregoing difficulty be removed, another starts up, no less puzzling, viz. By what adverse fate are so rich countries so ill peopled? It is a conjecture of M. Buffon, mentioned above, that America has been planted later than the other parts of this globe. But supposing the fact, it has however not been planted so late as to prevent a great population, witness Mexico and Peru, fully peopled at the era of the Spanish invasion. We must therefore search for another cause; and none occurs but the infecundity of the North-American savages. M. Buffon, a respectable author, and for that reason often quoted, remarks, that these savages are feeble in their organs of generation, that they have no ardor for the female sex, and that they have few children; to enforce which remark he adds, that the quadrupeds of America, both native and transplanted, are of a diminutive size, compared with those of the old world. A woman never admits her husband, till the child she is nursing be three years old; and this led Frenchmen to go often astray from their Canadian wives. The case was reported by the priests to their superiors in France; but what order was taken has escaped my memory. Among the males, it is an inviolable law, to abstain from females while they are engaged in a military expedition. This is pregnant evidence of their frigidity; for among savages the authority of law, or of opinion, seldom prevails over any strong appetite: vain would be the attempt to restrain them from spirituous liquors, tho' much more debilitating. Neither is there any instance, of violence offered by any North-American savage, to European women taken captives in war.

Mexico and Peru, when conquered by the Spaniards, afforded:

to,

to their numerous inhabitants the necessaries of life in profusion. Cotton was in plenty, more than sufficient for the cloathing needed in warm climates: Indian wheat was universal, and was cultivated without much labour. The natural wants of the inhabitants were thus supplied with very little trouble; and artificial wants had made no progress. But the present state of these countries is very different. The Indians have learned from their conquerors a multitude of artificial wants, good houses, variety of food, and rich cloaths, which must be imported, because not manufactured at home. They are prohibited from exercising any art or calling except agriculture, which scarce affords them necessaries; and this obliges a great proportion of them to live single. Even agriculture itself is cramped; for in most of the provinces there is a prohibition to plant vines or olives. In short, it is believed that the inhabitants who existed at the Spanish invasion are reduced to a fourth part. The savages also of North America who border on the European settlements are visibly diminishing. When the English settled in America, the five nations could raise 15,000 fighting men: at present they are not able to raise 2000. Upon the whole, it is computed by able writers, that the present inhabitants of America amount not to a twentieth part of those who existed when that continent was discovered by Columbus. This decay is ascribed to the intemperate use of spirits, and to the small-pox, both of them introduced by the Europeans*.

It

* In all the West-Indian colonies, the slaves continually decrease so as to need frequent recruits from Africa. "This decrease," says the author of a late account of Guiana, "is commonly attributed to oppression and hard labour; tho' with little reason, as the slaves are much more robust, healthy, and vigorous, than their masters. The true cause is, the commerce of white men with young negro wenches, who, to support that commerce, use every mean to avoid conception, and even to procure abortion. By such practices they are incapacitated to bear chil-

"drta

It is observable, that every sort of plague becomes more virulent when transplanted, than in its native place. The plague commits less ravage in Egypt, its native place, than in any other country. The venereal disease was for many ages more violent and destructive in Europe, than ever it was in America, where it was first known. The people who sailed with Christopher Columbus, brought it to Spain from Hispaniola. Columbus, with thirty or forty of his sailors, went directly to Barcelona, where the King then was, to render an account of his voyage. All the inhabitants, who at that time tripled the present number, were immediately seized with the venereal disease, which raged so furiously as to threaten destruction to all. The small pox comes under the same observation; for it has swept away many more in America, than ever it did in Europe. In the 1713, the crew of a Dutch vessel infected the Hottentots with the small pox; which left scarce a third of the inhabitants. And the same fate befel the Laplanders and Greenlanders. In all appearance, that disease, if it abate not soon of its transplanted virulence, will extirpate the natives of North America; for they know little of inoculation.

But spiritous liquors are a still more effectual cause of depopulation. The American savages, male and female, are inordinately fond of spiritous liquors; and savages generally abandon themselves to appetite, without the least control from shame. The noxious effects of intemperance in spirits, are too well known, from

“dren when they settle in marriage with their own countrymen. That this is the true cause, will be evident, from considering, that in Virginia and Maryland, the stock of slaves is kept up without any importation; because in these countries commerce with Negro women is detested, as infamous and unnatural.” The cause here assigned may have some effect: but there is a stronger cause of depopulation, viz. the culture of sugar, laborious in the field, and unhealthy in the house by boiling, &c. The Negroes employ’d in the culture of cotton, coffee, and ginger, seldom need to be recruited.

fatal experience among ourselves : before the use of gin was prohibited, the populace of London were debilitated by it to a degree of losing, in a great measure, the power of procreation. Happily for the human species, the invention of savages never reached the production of gin ; for spirits in that early period would have left not one person alive, not a single Noah to restore the race of men : in order to accomplish the plan of Providence, creation must have been renewed oftener than once *.

In the temperate climates of the old world, there is great uniformity in the gradual progress of men from the savage state to the highest civilization ; beginning with hunting and fishing, advancing to flocks and herds, and thereafter to agriculture and commerce. One would be much disappointed if he expected the same progress in America. Among the northern tribes, there is nothing that resembles the shepherd-state : they continue hunters and fishers as originally ; because there is no cause so potent as to force them from that state to become shepherds. So far clear. But there is another fact of which we have no example in the old world, that seems not so easily explained : these people, without passing through the shepherd-state, have advanced to some degree of agriculture. Before the seventeenth century, the Iroquois, or five nations, had villages, and cultivated Indian corn : the Cherokees have many small towns ; they raise corn in abundance, and fence in their fields : they breed poultry, and have orchards of peach-trees : the Chickesaws and Creek Indians live pretty much in the same manner. The Apalachites sow and reap in common ;

* Charlevoix says, that an Indian of Canada will give all he is worth for a glass of brandy. And he paints thus the effect of drunkenness upon them. " Even in the streets of Montreal are seen the most shocking spectacles of ebriety ; husbands, wives, fathers, mothers, brothers, and sisters, seizing one another by the throat, and tearing one another with their teeth, like so many enraged wolves."

and

and put up the corn in granaries, to be distributed among individuals when they want food. The Hurons raise great quantities of corn, not only for their own use, but for commerce. Many of these nations, particularly the Cherokees, have of late got horses, swine, and tame cattle; an improvement borrowed from the Europeans. But corn is of an earlier date: when Sir Richard Greenville took possession of Virginia in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the natives had corn; and Hennepin assures us, that the nations bordering on the Mississippi had corn long before they were visited by any European. Husbandry, it is true, is among those people still in its infancy; being left to the women, who sow, who reap, who store up in public granaries, and who distribute as need requires. The inhabitants of Guiana in South America, continue to this day hunters and fishers. But tho' they have neither flocks nor herds, they have some husbandry; for the women plant cassava, yams, and plantains. They make a liquor, like our ale, termed *piworee*, which they drink with their food. And tho' they are extremely fond of that liquor, their indolence makes them often neglect to provide against want. To a people having a violent propensity to intemperance, as all savages have, this improvidence is a blessing; for otherwise they would wallow in perpetual drunkenness. They are by no means singular; for unconcern about futurity is the characteristic of all savages. To forego an immediate for a distant enjoyment, can only be suggested by cultivated reason. When the Canary islands were first visited by the Europeans, which was in the fourteenth century, the inhabitants had corn; for which the ground was prepared in the following manner. They had a wooden instrument, not unlike a hoe, with a spur or tooth at the end, on which was fixed a goat's horn. With this instrument the ground was stirred; and if rain came not in its proper season, water was brought by canals from the rivulets. It was the women's province to reap the corn: they took only the ears; which

they threshed with sticks, or beat with their feet, and then winnowed in their hands. Husbandry probably will remain in its present state among American savages; for as they are decreasing daily, they can have no difficulty about food. The fact however is singular, of a people using corn before tame cattle: there must be a cause, which, on better acquaintance with that people, will probably be discovered.

America is full of political wonders. At the time of the Spanish invasion, the Mexicans and Peruvians had made great advances toward the perfection of society, while the northern tribes, separated from them by distance only, remained in the original state of hunters and fishers, and remain so at this day. To explain the difference, appears difficult. It is still more difficult to explain, why the Mexicans and Peruvians, inhabitants of the torrid zone, were highly polished in the arts of society and government; considering that in the old world, the inhabitants of the torrid zone are for the most part little better than savages. We are not sufficiently acquainted with the natural history of America, nor with that of its people, to attempt an explanation of these wonders: it is however part of our task, to state the progress of society among the Mexicans and Peruvians; which cannot fail to amuse the reader, as he will find these two nations differing essentially from the North-American tribes, in every article of manners, government, and police.

When the Spaniards invaded America, the Mexicans were skilful in agriculture. Maize was their chief grain, which, by careful culture, produced great plenty, even in the mountainous country of Tlascalla. They had gardening and botany, as well as agriculture: a physic-garden belonging to the Emperor was open to every one for gathering medicinal plants.

The art of cookery was far advanced among that people. Montezuma's table was generally covered with 200 dishes, many of them exquisitely

exquisitely dressed in the opinion even of the Spaniards. They used salt, which was made by the sun.

The women were dextrous at spinning; and manufactures of cotton and hair abounded every where.

The populousness of Mexico and Peru afford irrefragable evidence, that the arts of peace were there carried to a great height. The city of Mexico contained 60,000 families *; and Montezuma had thirty vassals who could bring into the field, each of them, 100,000 fighting men. Tlascalla, a neighbouring republic, governed by a senate, was so populous as to be almost a match for the Emperor of Mexico.

The public edifices in the city of Mexico, and houses of the nobility, were of stone, and well built. The royal palace had thirty gates opening to as many streets. The principal front was of jasper, black, red, and white, well polished. Three squares, built and adorned like the front, led to Montezuma's apartment, having large rooms, floors covered with mats of different kinds, walls hung with a mixture of cotton-cloth and rabbit-furs; the innermost room adorned with hangings of feathers, beautified with various figures in lively colours. In that building, large ceilings were formed so artificially without nails, as to make the planks sustain each other. Water was brought into the city of Mexico, from a mountain at a league's distance.

Gold and silver were in so high esteem, that vessels made of these metals were permitted to none but to the Emperor. Considering the value put upon gold and silver, the want of current coin would argue great dulness in that nation, if instances did

* We cannot altogether rely on what is reported of this ancient empire with respect to numbers. The city of Mexico, tho' considerably enlarged since the Spanish conquest, doth not at present contain more than 60,000 souls, including 20,000 Negroes and Mulattoes.

not daily occur of improvements, after being carried to a considerable height, stopping short at the very threshold of perfection. The want of current coin made fairs the more necessary, which were carried on with the most perfect regularity: judges on the spot decided mercantile differences; and inferior officers, making constant circuits, preserved peace and order. The abundance and variety of the commodities brought to market, and the order preserved by such multitudes, amazed the Spaniards; a spectacle deserving admiration, as a testimony of the grandeur and good government of that extensive empire.

The fine arts were not unknown in Mexico. Their goldsmiths were excellent workmen, particularly in moulding gold and silver into the form of animals. Their painters made landscapes and other imitations of nature with feathers, so artfully mixed as to bestow both life and colouring; of which sort of work, there were instances no less extraordinary for patience than for skill. Their drinking-cups were of the finest earth exquisitely made, differing from each other in colour, and even in smell. Of the same materials, they made great variety of vessels both for use and ornament.

They were not ignorant either of music or of poetry; and one of their capital amusements was songs set to music upon the achievements of their kings and ancestors.

With such a progress both in the useful and fine arts, is it not surprising, that tho' they had measures, they knew nothing of weights?

As to the art of writing, a capital article in the conduct of government, they were extremely deficient. That art, as mentioned above, was no farther advanced than the using figures composed of painted feathers, by which they made a shift to communicate some simple thoughts; and in that manner was Montezuma informed of the Spanish invasion.

There

There was great ingenuity shewn in regulating the calendar: the Mexican year was divided into 365 days; and into 18 months, containing 20 days each, which made 360; the remaining five intercalary days were added at the end of the year, for making it correspond to the course of the sun. They religiously employ'd these five days upon diversions, being of opinion that they were appropriated to that end by their ancestors.

Murder, theft, and corruption in officers of state, were capital crimes. Adultery also was capital; for female chastity was in high estimation. At the same time, consent was deemed a sufficient cause of divorce, the law leaving it to the parties concerned, who ought to be the best judges. In case of a divorce, the father took care of the male children, leaving the female children with the mother. But to prevent rash separations, it was capital for them to unite again.

It may be gathered from what has been said, that there was a distinction of rank among the Mexicans. So religiously was it observed, as to be display'd even in their buildings; the city of Mexico was divided into two parts, one appropriated to the Emperor and nobility, and one left to plebeians.

Education of children was an important article in the Mexican police. Public schools were allotted for plebeian children; and colleges well endowed for the sons of the nobility, where they continued till they were fit for business. The masters were considered as officers of state; not without reason, as their office was to qualify young men for serving their king and country. Such of the young nobles as made choice of a military life, were sent to the army, and made to suffer great hardships before they could be enlisted. They had indeed a powerful motive for perseverance, the most honourable of all employments being that of a soldier. Young women of quality were educated with no less care, by proper matrons chosen with the utmost circumspection.

As

As hereditary nobility, especially in an extensive empire, leads to monarchy, the government of Mexico was monarchical; and as the progress of monarchy is from being elective to be hereditary, Mexico had advanced no farther than to be an elective monarchy, of which Montezuma was the eleventh king. It would in time have become hereditary, had it not been subdued by the Spaniards. And it was an example of an elective monarchy that approaches the nearest to hereditary; for the power of election, as well as the privilege of being elected, were confined to the princes of the blood-royal. As a talent for war was chiefly regarded in choosing a successor to the throne, the Mexican kings always commanded their own armies. The Emperor-elect, before his coronation, was obliged to make some conquest, or perform some warlike exploit; a custom that supported the military spirit, and enlarged the kingdom. From every king was exacted a coronation-oath, to adhere to the religion of his ancestors, to maintain the laws and customs of the empire, and to be a father to his people.

The various affairs of government were distributed among different boards with great propriety. The management of the royal patrimony was allotted to one board; appeals from inferior tribunals, to another; the levying of troops, and the providing of magazines, to a third: matters of supreme importance were reserved to a council of state, held generally in the King's presence. These boards, all of them, were composed of men experienced in the arts of war and of peace: the council of state was composed of those who elected the Emperor.

Concerning the patrimony of the crown, mines of gold and silver belonged to the Emperor; and the duty on salt brought in a great revenue. But the capital duty was, a third of the land-rents, the estates of the nobles excepted; upon whom no tribute was imposed, but to serve in the army with a number of their vassals, and

and to guard the Emperor's person. Goods manufactured and sold were subjected to a duty ; which was not prejudicial to their manufactures, because there was no rival nation within reach.

Montezuma introduced a multitude of ceremonies into his court, tending to inspire veneration for his person ; an excellent politic in rude times, of however little significancy among nations enlightened and rational. Veneration and humility were so much the tone of the court, that it was even thought indecent in the Mexican lords, to appear before the King in their richest habits. Vessels of gold and silver were appropriated to his table, and not permitted even to the princes of the blood. The table-cloths and napkins, made of the finest cotton, with the earthen ware, never made a second appearance at the Emperor's table, but were distributed among the servants.

In war, their offensive weapons were bows and arrows ; and as iron was not known in America, their arrows were headed with bones sharpened at the point. They used also darts, and long wooden swords, in which were fixed sharp flints ; and men of more than ordinary strength fought with clubs. They beside had slingers, who threw stones with great force and dexterity. Their defensive arms, used only by commanders and persons of distinction, were a coat of quilted cotton, a sort of breast-plate, and a shield of wood or tortoise-shell, adorned with plates of such metal as they could procure. The private men fought naked ; their faces and bodies being deformed with paint, in order to terrify the enemy. They had warlike instruments of music, such as sea-shells, flutes made of large canes, and a sort of drum made of the trunk of a tree hollow'd. Their battalions consisted of great numbers crouded together, without even the appearance of order. They attacked with fury, and terrible outcries, in order to intimidate the enemy ; a practice prompted by nature, and formerly used by many nations. It was not despised even by the Romans ;

for Cato the elder was wont to say, that he had obtained more victories by the throats of his soldiers, than by their swords ; and Cæsar applauds his own soldiers, above those of Pompey, for their warlike shouts. Eagerness to engage is vented in loud cries : and the effects are excellent : they redouble the ardor of those who attack, at the same time that they strike terror into the enemy.

Their armies were formed with ease : the princes of the empire, with the cacics or governors of provinces, were obliged to repair to the general rendezvous, each with his quota of men.

Their fortifications were trunks of large trees, fixed in the ground like pallisades, leaving no intervals but what were barely sufficient for discharging their arrows upon the enemy.

Military orders were instituted, with peculiar habits, as marks of distinction and honour ; and each cavalier bore the device of his order, painted upon his robe, or fixed to it. Montezuma founded a new order of knighthood, into which princes only were admitted, or nobles descended from the royal stock ; and as a token of its superiority, he became one of its members. The knights of that order had part of their hair bound with a red ribbon, to which a tassel was fixed hanging down to the shoulder. Every new exploit was honoured with an additional tassel ; which made the knights with ardor embrace every opportunity to signalize themselves. As nothing can be better contrived than such a regulation for supporting a military spirit, the Mexicans would have been invincible had they understood the order of battle : for want of which that potent empire fell a prey to a handful of strangers. I differ from those who ascribe that event to the fire-arms of the Spaniards, and to their horses. These could not be more terrible to the Mexicans, than elephants were at first to the Romans : but familiarity with these unwieldy animals, restored to the Romans their wonted courage ; and the Mexicans probably would
have

have behaved like the Romans, had they equalled the Romans in the art of war.

When that illustrious people, by their own genius, without borrowing from others, had made such proficiency in the arts of peace, as well as of war; is it not strange, that with respect to religion they were no better than savages? They not only practised human sacrifices, but dressed and eat the flesh of those that were sacrificed. Their great temple was contrived to raise horror: upon the walls were multiplied the figures of noxious serpents: the heads of persons sacrificed were stuck up in different places, and carefully renewed when wasted by time. There were eight temples in the city, nearly of the same architecture; 2000 of a smaller size, dedicated to different idols; scarce a street without a tutelary deity; nor a calamity that had not an altar, to which the distressed might have recourse for a remedy. Unparalleled ignorance and stupidity, obliged every Emperor, at his coronation, to swear, that there should be no unseasonable rains, no overflowing of rivers, no fields affected with sterility, nor any man hurt with the bad influences of the sun. In short, it was a slavish religion, built upon fear, not love. At the same time, they believed the immortality of the soul, and rewards and punishments in a future state; which made them bury with their dead, quantities of gold and silver, for defraying the expence of their journey; and also made them put to death some of their servants to attend them. Women sometimes, actuated with the same belief, were authors of their own death, in order to accompany their husbands.

The author that we must chiefly rely on for an account of Peru is Garcilasso de la Vega: tho' he may be justly suspected of partiality; for being of the Inca race, he bestows on the Peruvian government, improvements of later times. The articles that appear the least suspicious are what follow.

The principle of the Peruvian constitution seems to have been

an Agrarian law, of the strictest kind. To the sovereign was first allotted a large proportion of land, for defraying the expences of government; and the remainder was divided among his subjects, in proportion to the number of each family. These portions were not alienable: the sovereign was held proprietor of the whole, as in the feudal system; and from time to time the distribution was varied according to the circumstances of families. This Agrarian law contributed undoubtedly to the populousness of the kingdom of Peru.

It is a sure sign of improved agriculture, that aqueducts were made by the Peruvians for watering their land. Their plough was of wood, a yard long, flat before, round behind, and pointed at the end for piercing the ground. Agriculture seems to have been carried on by united labour: lands appropriated for maintaining the poor were first ploughed; next the portion allotted to soldiers performing duty in the field: then every man separately ploughed his own field; after which he assisted his neighbour: they proceeded to the portion of the curaca or lord: and lastly to the King's portion. In the month of March they reaped their maize, and celebrated the harvest with joy and feasting.

There being no artist nor manufacturer by profession, individuals were taught to do every thing for themselves. Every one knew how to plough and manure the land: every one was a carpenter, a mason, a shoemaker, a weaver, &c.; and the women were the most ingenious and diligent of all. Blas Valera mentions a law, named *the law of brotherhood*, which, without the prospect of reward, obliged them to be mutually aiding and assisting in ploughing, sowing, and reaping, in building their houses, and in every sort of occupation.

As the art was unknown of melting down metals by means of bellows, long copper pipes were contrived, contracted at the further

ther end, that the breath might act the more forcibly on the fire; and they used ten or twelve of these pipes together, when they wanted a very hot fire. Having no iron, their hatchets and pick-axes were of copper, and they had neither saw nor augre, nor any instrument of iron: ignorant of the use of nails, they tied their timber with cords of hemp. The tool they had for cutting stone, was a sharp flint; and with that tool they shaped the stone by continual rubbing, more than by cutting. Having no engines for raising stones, they did all by strength of arm. These defects notwithstanding, they erected great edifices; witness the fortrefs of Cusco, a stupenduous fabric. It passes all understanding, by what means the stones, or rather the great rocks, employ'd in that building, were brought from the quarry. One of these stones, measured by Acofta, was thirty feet in length, eighteen in breadth, and fix in thickness.

- Having neither scissars nor needles of metal, they used a certain long thorn for a needle. The mirrors used by ladies of quality were of burnished copper: but such implements of dress were reckoned too effeminate for the men.

- With respect to music, they had an instrument of hollow canes glew'd together, the notes of which were like those of an organ. They had love-songs accompanied with a pipe; and war-songs, which were their festival entertainment. They composed and acted comedies and tragedies. The art of writing properly so called, was unknown: but silken threads, with knots cast upon them of divers colours, enabled them to keep exact accounts, and to sum them up with a readiness that would have rivalled an expert European arithmetician. They had also attained to as much geometry as to measure their fields.

In war, their offensive arms were the bow and arrow, lance, dart, club, and bill. Their defensive arms, were the helmet and target.

target. The army was provided from the King's stores, and was no burden upon the people.

In philosophy, they had made no progress. An eclipse of the moon was attributed to her being sick; and they fancied the milky way to be a ewe giving suck to a lamb. With regard to the setting sun, they said, that he was a good swimmer, and that he pierced through the waves, to rise next morning in the east. But such ignorance is not wonderful; for no branch of science can make a progress without writing.

The people were divided into small bodies of ten families each; every division had a head, and a register was kept of the whole; a branch of public police, that very much resembles the English decennaries.

They made but two meals, one between eight and nine in the morning, the other before sunset. Idleness was punished with infamy: even children were employ'd according to their capacity. public visitors or monitors were appointed, having access to every house, for inspecting the manners of the inhabitants; who were rewarded or punished according to their behaviour. Moderation and industry were so effectually enforced by this article of police, that few were reduced to indigence; and these got their food and cloathing out of the King's stores.

With respect to their laws and customs, children were bound to serve their parents until the age of twenty-five; and marriage contracted before that time, without consent of parents, was null. Polygamy was prohibited, and persons were confined to marry within their own tribe. The tradition, that the Inca family were children of the sun, introduced incest among them; for it was a matter of religion to preserve their divine blood pure and unmixed.

It was the chief article of the Peruvian creed, upon which every other article of their religion depended, that the Inca family were

were children of their great god the sun, and sent by him to spread his worship and his laws among them. Nothing could have a greater influence upon an ignorant and credulous people, than such a doctrine. The sanctity of the Inca family was so deeply rooted in the hearts of the Peruvians, that no person of that family was thought capable of committing a crime. Such blind veneration for a family, makes it probable, that the government of Peru under the Incas had not subsisted many years; for a government founded upon deceit and superstition, cannot long continue its authority. However that be, such belief of the origin of the Incas, is evidence of great virtue and moderation in that family; for any gross act of tyranny or injustice, would have opened the eyes of the people to see their error. Moderation in the sovereign, and in the subjects obedience without reserve, cannot fail to produce a government mild and gentle; which was verified in that of Peru, so mild and gentle, that to manure and cultivate the lands of the Inca, and to lay up the produce in store-houses, were the only burdens imposed upon the people, if it was not sometimes to make cloaths and weapons for the army. At the same time their kings were so revered, that these articles of labour were performed with great alacrity.

The government was equally gentle with regard to punishments. Indeed very few crimes were committed, being considered as a sort of rebellion against their great god the sun. The only crime that seems to have been punished with severity, is the marauding of soldiers; for death was inflicted, however inconsiderable the damage.

In this empire, there appears to have been the most perfect union between law and religion; which could not fail to produce obedience, order, and tranquillity, among that people, tho' extremely numerous. The Inca family was fam'd for moderation: they made conquests in order to civilize their neighbours; and as they

they seldom if ever transgressed the bounds of morality, no other art was necessary to preserve the government entire, but to keep the people ignorant of true religion. They had virgins dedicated to the sun, who, like the vestal virgins in Rome, were under a vow of perpetual chastity.

This subject shall be concluded with some slight observations on the two governments I have been describing. Comparing them together, the Mexican government seems to have been supported by arms; that of Peru by religion.

The kings of Peru were hereditary and absolute: those of Mexico elective. In contradiction however to political principles, the government of Peru was by far the milder. It is mentioned above, that the electors of the Mexican kings were hereditary princes; and the same electors composed the great council of state. Montesquieu therefore has been misinformed when he terms this a despotic monarchy (*a*): a monarchy can never be despotic, where the sovereign is limited by a great council, the members of which are independent of him. As little reason has he to term Peru despotic. An absolute monarchy it was, but the farthest in the world from being despotic: on the contrary, we find not in history any government so well contrived for the good of the people. An Agrarian law, firmly rooted, prevented that great inequality of rank and riches which lead to luxury, and dissolution of manners: a commonwealth was naturally the result of such a constitution; and probably would have taken place, had it not been for a government no less suitable, and still more mild, viz. a theocracy under a family sent from heaven to make them happy. This wild opinion, supported by ignorance and superstition, proved an effectual bar against tyranny in the monarch; a most exemplary conduct on his part being necessary for supporting the o-

(*a*) L'Esprit des loix, liv. 17. ch. 2.

pinion of his divinity. Upon the whole, comprehending king and subject, there perhaps never existed more virtue in any other government, whether monarchical or republican.

In Peru there are traces of some distinction of ranks, arising probably from office merely, which, as in France, were a bulwark to the monarch against the peasants. The great superiority of the Peruvian Incas, as demi-gods, did not admit a hereditary nobility.

With respect to the progress of arts and manufactures, the two nations differed widely: in Mexico, arts and manufactures were carried to a surprising height, considering the tools they had to work with: in Peru, they had made no progress, every man, as among mere savages, providing the necessities of life for himself. As the world goes at present, such numbers are employ'd upon our multiplied wants, that not above one of a hundred can be spared for war. In ancient times, when these wants were few, and not much enlarged beyond nature, it is computed that an eighth part could be spared for war: and hence the numerous armies we read of in the history of ancient nations. The Peruvians had it in their power to go still farther: it was possible to arm the whole males capable of service: leaving the women to supply the few necessities that might be wanted during a short campaign; and accordingly we find that the Incas were great conquerors.

The religion of the Peruvians, considered in a political light, was excellent. The veneration they paid their sovereign upon a false religious principle, was their only superstition; and that superstition contributed greatly to improve their morals and their manners: on the other hand, the religion of Mexico was abominable.

Upon the whole, there never was a country destitute of iron, where arts seem to have been carried higher than in Mexico; and,

bating their religion, there never was a country destitute of writing, where government seems to have been more perfect. I except not the government of Peru, which, not being founded on political principles, but on superstition, might be more mild, but was far from being so solidly founded.

S K E T C H E S

S K E T C H E S
O F T H E
H I S T O R Y O F M A N.

B O O K III.

Progress of S C I E N C E S.

P R E F A C E.

*M*orality, theology, and the art of reasoning, are three great branches of a learned education; and are justly held to be so, because they are our only sure guides in passing through the intricate paths of life. They are indeed not essential to those termed men of the world: the most profound philosopher makes but an insipid figure in fashionable company; would be somewhat ridiculous at a court-ball; and an absolute absurdity among the gamesters at Arthur's, or jockeys at

Newmarket. But, these cogent objections notwithstanding, I venture to pronounce such studies to be not altogether unsuitable to a gentleman. Man is a creature full of curiosity; and to gratify that appetite, many roam through the world, submitting to heat and cold, nay to hunger and thirst, without a sigh. Could indeed that troublesome guest be expelled, we might hug ourselves in ignorance; and, like true men of the world, undervalue knowledge, that can neither procure money, nor a new sensual pleasure. But, alas! the expulsion is not in the power of every one; and those who have not that power, will probably think it not amiss, to employ their curiosity upon studies that make them good members of society, and endear them to every person of virtue.

And were we even men of the world in such perfection, as to regard nothing but our own interest; yet does not ignorance lay us open to the crafty and designing? and does not the art of reasoning guard many an honest man from being misled by subtle sophisms? With respect to right and wrong, not even passion is more dangerous than error. And as to religion, better it were to settle in a conviction that there is no God, than to be in a state of wavering and fluctuation; sometimes indulging every loose desire, as if we were not accountable beings; and sometimes yielding to superstitious fears, as if there were no god but the devil. To a well-disposed mind, the existence of a supreme benevolent Deity, appears highly probable: and if happily the study of theology lead us to a conviction that there really is such a being; the conviction will be a source of constant enjoyment, which I boldly set above the titillating pleasures of external sense. Possibly there may be less present amusement in abstract studies, than in news-papers, in party-pamphlets, or in Hoyl upon Whist: but let us for a moment anticipate futurity, and imagine that we are reviewing past transactions, — how pleasant the retrospect of those who have maintained the dignity of their nature, and employ'd their talents to the best purposes!

Contradictory opinions that have influence on practice, will be regretted by every person of a sound heart; and as erroneous opinions are commonly

monly the result of imperfect education, I would gladly hope, that a remedy is not altogether out of reach. At the revival of arts and sciences, the learned languages were our sole study, because in them were locked up all the treasures of useful knowledge. This study has long ago ceased to be the chief object of education; and yet the original plan is handed down to us with very little variation. Wishing to contribute to a more perfect system of education, I present to the public the following sketches. The books that have been published upon morality, theology, and the art of reasoning, are not eminent either for simplicity, or for clear ideas. To introduce these into the subjects mentioned, is my aim; with what success, is cheerfully submitted to the judgement of others. The historical part, hitherto much neglected, is necessary as a branch of my general plan; and I am hopeful, that beside instruction, it will contribute to recreation, which, in abstract studies, is no less necessary than pleasant.

S K E T C H I.

Principles and Progress of REASON.

S E C T I O N I.

PRINCIPLES OF REASON.

EVery affirmation, whatever be the subject, is termed a *proposition*.

Truth and error are qualities of propositions. A proposition that says a thing is what it is in reality, is termed a *true proposition*. A proposition that says a thing is what it is not in reality, is termed an *erroneous proposition*.

Our knowledge of what is agreeable and disagreeable in objects is derived from the sense of beauty, handled in Elements of Criticism. Our knowledge of right and wrong in actions, is derived from the moral sense, to be handled in the sketch immediately following. Our knowledge of truth and error is derived from various sources.

Our external senses are one source of knowledge: they lay open to us external subjects, their qualities, their actions, with events produced by these actions. The internal senses are another source of knowledge: they lay open to us things passing in the mind; thinking,

thinking, for example, deliberating, inclining, resolving, willing, consenting, and other actions; and they also lay open to us our emotions and passions. There is a sense by which we perceive the truth of many propositions; such as, That every thing which begins to exist, must have a cause; That every effect adapted to some end or purpose, proceeds from a designing cause; and, That every effect adapted to a good end or purpose, proceeds from a designing and benevolent cause. A multitude of axioms in every science, particularly in mathematics, are perceived to be equally true. By a peculiar sense, of which afterward, we know that there is a Deity. By another sense we know, that the external signs of passion are the same in all men; that animals of the same external appearance, are of the same species; and that animals of the same species, have the same properties (*a*). By another sense we see into futurity: we know that the sun will rise to-morrow; that the earth will perform its wonted course round the sun; that winter and summer will follow each other in succession; that a stone dropt from the hand will fall to the ground; and a thousand other such propositions.

There are many propositions, the truth of which is not so apparent: a process of reasoning is necessary, of which afterward.

Human testimony is another source of knowledge. So framed are we by nature, as to rely on human testimony; by which we are informed of beings, attributes, and events, that never came under any of our senses.

The knowledge that is derived from the sources mentioned, is of different kinds. In some cases, our knowledge includes absolute certainty, and produces the highest degree of conviction: in other cases, probability comes in place of certainty, and the conviction is inferior in degree. Knowledge of the latter kind is distinguished

(*a*) Book 1. sketch 1.

into belief, which concerns facts; and opinion, which concerns relations, and other things that fall not under the denomination of facts. In contradistinction to opinion and belief, that sort of knowledge which includes absolute certainty, and produces the highest degree of conviction, retains its proper name. To explain what is here said, I enter into particulars.

The sense of seeing, with very few exceptions, affords knowledge in its proper sense. It is not in our power to doubt of the existence of a person we see, touch, and converse with; and when such is our constitution, it is a vain attempt to call in question the authority of our sense of seeing, as some writers pretend to do. No one ever called in question the existence of internal actions and passions, laid open to us by internal sense; and there is as little ground for doubting of what we see. The sense of seeing, it is true, is not always correct: through different mediums the same object is seen differently: to a jaundic'd eye every thing appears yellow; and to one intoxicated with liquor, two candles sometimes appear four. But we are never left without remedy in such a case: it is the province of the reasoning faculty, to correct every error of that kind.

An object of sight, when recalled to mind by the power of memory, is termed an *idea* or secondary perception. An original perception, as said above, affords knowledge in its proper sense; but a secondary perception affords belief only. And Nature in this, as in all other instances, is faithful to truth; for it is evident, that we cannot be so certain of the existence of an object in its absence, as when present.

With respect to many abstract propositions, of which instances are above given, we have an absolute certainty and conviction of their truth, derived to us from various senses. We can, for example, entertain as little doubt, that every thing which begins to exist, must have a cause, as that the sun is in the firmament; and

as

as little doubt that he will rise to-morrow, as that he is now set. There are many other propositions, the truth of which is probable only, not absolutely certain; as, for example, that things will continue in their ordinary state. That natural operations are performed in the simplest manner, is an axiom of natural philosophy: it may be probable, but is far from being certain *.

In every one of the instances given, conviction arises from a single act of perception: for which reason, knowledge acquired by means of that perception, not only knowledge in its proper sense, but also opinion and belief, are termed *intuitive knowledge*. But there are many things, the knowledge of which is not obtained with so much facility. Propositions for the most part require a process or operation in the mind, termed *reasoning*; leading, by certain intermediate steps, to the proposition that is to be demonstrated or made evident; which, in opposition to intuitive knowledge, is termed *discursive knowledge*. This process or operation must be explained, in order to understand the nature of reasoning. And as reasoning is mostly employ'd in discovering relations, I shall draw my examples from them. Every proposition concerning relations, is an affirmation of a certain relation between two subjects. If the relation affirmed appear not intuitively, we must search for a third subject, that appears intuitively to be connected with each of the others, by the relation affirmed: and if such a subject be found, the proposition is demonstrated; for it is

* I have given this proposition a place, because it is assumed as an axiom by all writers on natural philosophy. And yet there appears some room for doubting, whether the conviction we have of it do not proceed from a bias in our nature, rather than from an original sense. Our taste for simplicity, which undoubtedly is natural, renders simple operations more agreeable than what are complex, and consequently makes them appear more natural. It deserves a most serious discussion, whether the operations of nature be always carried on with the greatest simplicity, or whether we be not misled by our taste for simplicity, to be of that opinion.

intuitively certain, that two subjects, connected with a third by any particular relation, must be connected together by the same relation. The longest chain of reasoning may be linked together in this manner. Running over such a chain, every one of the subjects must appear intuitively to be connected with that immediately preceding, and with that immediately subsequent, by the relation affirmed in the proposition; and from the whole united, the proposition, as above mentioned, must appear intuitively certain. The last step of the process is termed a *conclusion*, being the last or concluding perception.

No sort of reasoning affords so clear a notion of the foregoing process, as that which is mathematical. Equality is the only mathematical relation; and comparison therefore is the only means by which mathematical propositions are ascertained. To that science belong a set of intuitive propositions, termed *axioms*, which are all founded on equality. For example: Divide two equal lines, each of them, into a thousand equal parts, a single part of the one line must be equal to a single part of the other. Second: Take ten of these parts from the one line, and as many from the other, and the remaining parts must be equal: which is more shortly expressed thus: From two equal lines take equal parts, and the remainders will be equal; or add equal parts, and the sums will be equal. Third: If two things be, in the same respect, equal to a third, the one is equal to the other in the same respect. I proceed to show the use of these axioms. Two things may be equal without being intuitively so; which is the case of the equality between the three angles of a triangle and two right angles. To demonstrate that truth, it is necessary to search for some other angles, which appear by intuition to be equal to both. If this property cannot be discovered in any one set of angles, we must go more leisurely to work, by trying to find angles that are equal to the three angles of a triangle. These being discovered, we next try to find other angles equal to the
angles

angles now discovered ; and so on in the comparison, till at last we discover a set of angles, equal not only to those thus introduced, but also to two right angles. We thus connect the two parts of the original proposition, by a number of intermediate equalities ; and by that means perceive, that, these two parts are equal among themselves ; it being an intuitive proposition, as mentioned above, That two things are equal, each of which, in the same respect, is equal to a third.

I proceed to a different example, which concerns the relation between cause and effect. The proposition to be demonstrated is, “ That there exists a good and intelligent Being, who is the cause of all the wise and benevolent effects that are produced in the government of this world.” That there are such effects, is in the present example the fundamental proposition, which is taken for granted, because it is verified by experience. In order to discover the cause of these effects, I begin with an intuitive proposition mentioned above, “ That every effect adapted to a good end or purpose, proceeds from a designing and benevolent cause.” The next step is, to examine whether man can be the cause : he is provided indeed with some share of wisdom and benevolence ; but the effects mentioned are far above his power, and no less above his wisdom. Neither can this earth be the cause, nor the sun, the moon, the stars ; for, far from being wise and benevolent, they are not even sensible. If these be excluded, we are unavoidably led to an invisible being, endowed with boundless power, goodness, and intelligence ; and that invisible being is termed *God*.

Reasoning requires two mental powers, namely, the powers of invention, and of perceiving relations. By the former are discovered intermediate propositions, equally related to the fundamental proposition, and to the conclusion : and by the latter we perceive, that the different links which compose the chain of reasoning, are all connected together by the same relation.

We can reason about matters of opinion and belief, as well as about matters of knowledge, properly so termed. Hence reasoning is distinguished into two kinds; demonstrative, and probable. Demonstrative reasoning is also of two kinds: in the first, the conclusion is drawn from the nature and inherent properties of the subject: in the other, the conclusion is drawn from some principle, of which we are certain by intuition. With respect to the first, we have no such knowledge of the nature or inherent properties of any being, material or immaterial, as to draw conclusions from it with certainty. I except not even figure considered as a quality of matter, tho' it is the object of mathematical reasoning. As we have no standard for determining with precision the figure of any portion of matter, we cannot with precision reason upon it: what appears to us a straight line may be a curve, and what appears a rectilinear angle may be curvilinear. How then comes mathematical reasoning to be demonstrative? This question may appear at first sight puzzling; and I know not that it has any where been distinctly explained. Perhaps what follows may be satisfactory.

The subjects of arithmetical reasoning are numbers. The subjects of mathematical reasoning are figures. But what figures are subjects of mathematical reasoning? Not such as I see; but such as I form an idea of, abstracting from every imperfection. I explain myself. There is a power in man to form images of things that never existed; a golden mountain, for example, or a river running upward. This power operates upon figures. There is perhaps no figure existing the sides of which are straight lines. But it is easy to form an idea of a line, that has no waving or crookedness in it; and it is easy to form an idea of a figure bounded by such lines. Such ideal figures are the subjects of mathematical reasoning; and these being perfectly clear and distinct, are proper subjects for demonstrative reasoning of the first kind. Ma-
thematical

mathematical reasoning however is not merely a mental entertainment: it is of real use in life, by directing the powers and properties of matter. There possibly may not be found any where a perfect globe, to answer the idea we form of that figure: but a globe may be made so near perfection, as that the properties demonstrated to belong to the idea of a perfect globe will be nearly applicable to that figure. In a word, tho' ideas are, properly speaking, the subject of mathematical evidence; yet the end and purpose of that evidence is, to direct us with respect to figures as they really exist; and the nearer any real figure approaches to the idea we form of it, with the greater accuracy will the mathematical truth be applicable.

The component parts of figures, viz. lines and angles, are extremely simple, requiring no definition. Place before a child a crooked line, and one that has no appearance of being crooked; call the former a *crooked line*, the latter a *straight line*; and the child will use these terms familiarly, without hazard of a mistake. Draw a perpendicular upon paper; let the child advert, that the upward line leans neither to the right nor the left, and for that reason is termed a *perpendicular*: the child will apply that term familiarly to a tree, to the wall of a house, or to any other perpendicular. In the same manner, place before the child two lines diverging from each other, and two that have no appearance of diverging: call the latter *parallel lines*, and the child will have no difficulty of applying the same term to the sides of a door or of a window. Yet so accustomed are we to definitions, that even these simple ideas are not suffered to escape. A straight line, for example, is defined to be the shortest that can be drawn between two given points. The fact is certain; but so far from a definition, that it is an inference drawn from the idea of a straight line: and had I not beforehand a clear idea of a straight line, I could not infer that it is the shortest between two given points.

D'Alembert

D'Alembert strains hard, but without success, for a definition of a straight line, and of the others mentioned. It is difficult to avoid smiling at his definition of parallel lines. Draw, says he, a straight line: erect upon it two perpendiculars of the same length: upon their two extremities draw another straight line; and that line is said to be parallel to the first mentioned: as if, to understand what is meant by the expression *two parallel lines*, we must first understand what is meant by a straight line, by a perpendicular, and by two lines equal in length. A very slight reflection upon the operations of his own mind, would have taught this author, that he could form the idea of parallel lines without running through so many intermediate steps: sight alone is sufficient to explain the term to a boy, and even to a girl. At any rate, where is the necessity of introducing the line last mentioned? If the idea of parallels cannot be obtained from the two perpendiculars alone, the additional line drawn through their extremities will certainly not make it more clear.

Mathematical figures being in their nature complex, are capable of being defined; and from the foregoing simple ideas, it is easy to define every one of them. For example, a circle is a figure having a point within it, named the *centre*, through which all the straight lines that can be drawn, and extended to the circumference, are equal; a surface bounded by four equal straight lines, and having four right angles, is termed a *square*; and a cube is a solid, of which all the six surfaces are squares.

In the investigation of mathematical truths, we assist the imagination, by drawing figures upon paper that resemble our ideas. There is no necessity for a perfect resemblance: a black spot, which in reality is a small round surface, serves to represent a mathematical point; and a black line, which in reality is a long narrow surface, serves to represent a mathematical line. When we reason about the figures composed of such lines, it is sufficient that

that these figures have some appearance of regularity : less or more is of no importance ; because our reasoning is not founded upon them, but upon our ideas. Thus, to demonstrate that the three angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles, a triangle is drawn upon paper, in order to keep the mind steady to its object, and to prevent wandering. After tracing the steps that lead to the conclusion, we are satisfied that the proposition is true ; being conscious that the reasoning is built upon the ideal figure, not upon that which is drawn upon the paper. And being also conscious that the enquiry is carried on independent of any particular length of the sides, we are satisfied of the universality of the proposition, and of its being applicable to all triangles whatever.

Numbers considered by themselves, abstractedly from things, make the subject of arithmetic. And with respect both to mathematical and arithmetical reasonings, which frequently consist of many steps, the process is shortened by the invention of signs, which, by a single dash of the pen, express clearly what would require many words. By that means, a very long chain of reasoning is expressed by a few symbols ; a method that contributes greatly to readiness of comprehension. If in such reasonings words were necessary, the mind, embarrassed with their multiplicity, would have great difficulty to follow any long chain of reasoning. A line drawn upon paper represents an ideal line, and a few simple characters represent the abstract ideas of number.

Arithmetical reasoning, like mathematical, depends entirely upon the relation of equality, which can be ascertained with the greatest certainty among many ideas. Hence, reasonings upon such ideas afford the highest degree of conviction. I do not say, however, that this is always the case ; for a man who is conscious of his own fallibility, is seldom without some degree of diffidence, where

where the reasoning consists of many steps. And tho' on a review no error is discovered, yet he is conscious that there may be errors, tho' they have escaped him.

As to the other kind of demonstrative reasoning, founded on some proposition of which we are intuitively certain; I justly call it *demonstrative*, because it affords the same conviction that arises from mathematical reasoning. In both, the means of conviction are the same, viz. a clear perception of the relation between two ideas: and there are many relations of which we have ideas no less clear than of equality; witness substance and quality, the whole and its parts, cause and effect, and many others. From the intuitive proposition, for example, That nothing which begins to exist can exist without a cause, I can conclude, that some one being must have existed from all eternity, with no less certainty, than that the three angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles.

What falls next in order, is that inferior kind of knowledge which is termed *opinion*; and which, like knowledge properly so termed, is founded in some instances upon intuition, and in some upon reasoning. But it differs from knowledge in the following particular, that it produces different degrees of conviction, sometimes approaching to certainty, and sometimes sinking toward the verge of improbability. The constancy and uniformity of natural operations, is a fit subject for illustrating that difference. The future successive changes of day and night, of winter and summer, and of other successions which have hitherto been regular and uniform, fall under intuitive knowledge, because of these we have the highest conviction. As the conviction is inferior of successions that hitherto have been varied in any degree, these fall under intuitive opinion. We expect summer after winter with the utmost confidence; but we have not the same confidence in expecting a hot summer or a cold winter. And yet the probability

lity approaches much nearer to certainty, than the intuitive opinion we have, that the operations of nature are extremely simple, a proposition that is very little rely'd on.

As to opinion founded on reasoning, it is obvious, that the conviction produced by the reasoning, can never rise above what is produced by the intuitive proposition upon which the reasoning is founded. And that it may be weaker, will appear from considering, that even where the fundamental proposition is certain, it may lead to the conclusive opinion by intermediate propositions, that are probable only, not certain. In a word, it holds in general with respect to every sort of reasoning, that the conclusive proposition can never rise higher in point of conviction, than the very lowest of the intuitive propositions employ'd as steps in the reasoning.

The perception we have of the contingency of future events, opens a wide field to our reasoning about probabilities. That perception involves more or less doubt according to its subject. In some instances, the event is perceived to be extremely doubtful; in others it is perceived to be less doubtful. It appears altogether doubtful, in throwing a dye, which of the six sides will turn up; and for that reason, we cannot justly conclude for one rather than another. If one only of the six sides be marked with a figure, we conclude, that a blank will turn up; and five to one is an equal wager that such will be the effect. In judging of the future behaviour of a man who has hitherto been governed by interest, we may conclude with a probability approaching to certainty, that interest will continue to prevail.

Belief comes last in order, which, as defined above, is knowledge of the truth of facts that falls below certainty, and involves in its nature some degree of doubt. It is also of two kinds; one founded upon intuition, and one upon reasoning. Thus, knowledge, opinion, belief, are all of them equally distinguishable in-

to intuitive and discursive. Of intuitive belief, I discover three different sources or causes. First, A present object. Secondly, An object formerly present. Thirdly, The testimony of others.

To have a clear conception of the first cause, it must be observed, that among the simple perceptions that compose the complex perception of a present object, a perception of real and present existence is one. This perception rises commonly to certainty; in which case it is a branch of knowledge properly so termed; and is handled as such above. But this perception falls below certainty in some instances; as when an object, seen at a great distance, or in a fog, is perceived to be a horse, but so indistinctly as to make it a probability only. The perception in such a case is termed *belief*. Both perceptions are fundamentally of the same nature; being simple perceptions of real existence. They differ only in point of accuracy: the perception of reality that makes a branch of knowledge, is so clear and distinct as to exclude all doubt or hesitation: the perception of reality that occasions belief, being less clear and distinct, makes not the existence of the object certain to us, but only probable.

With respect to the second cause; the existence of an absent object, formerly seen, amounts not to a certainty; and therefore is the subject of belief only, not of knowledge. Things are in a continual flux from production to dissolution; and our senses are accommodated to that variable scene: a present object admits no doubt of its existence; but after it is removed, its existence becomes less certain, and in time sinks down to a slight degree of probability.

Human testimony, the third cause, produces belief, more or less strong, according to circumstances. In general, nature leads us to rely upon the veracity of each other; and commonly the degree of reliance is proportioned to the degree of veracity. Sometimes belief approaches to certainty, as when it is founded on the
evidence

evidence of persons above all exception. Sometimes it sinks to the lowest degree of probability, as when a fact is told by one who has no great reputation for truth. The nature of the fact, common or uncommon, has likewise an influence: an ordinary incident gains credit upon very slight evidence; but it requires the strongest evidence to overcome the improbability of an event that deviates from the ordinary course of nature. At the same time, it must be observed, that belief is not always founded upon rational principles. There are biases and weaknesses in human nature that sometimes disturb the operation, and produce belief without sufficient or proper evidence: we are disposed to believe on very slight evidence, an interesting event, however rare or singular, that alarms and agitates the mind; because the mind, in agitation, is remarkably susceptible of impressions: for which reason, stories of ghosts and apparitions pass current with the vulgar. Eloquence also has great power over the mind; and, by making deep impressions, enforces the belief of facts upon evidence that would not be regarded in a cool moment.

The dependence that our perception of real existence, and consequently belief, hath upon oral evidence, enlivens social intercourse, and promotes society. But the perception of real existence has a still more extensive influence; for from that perception is derived a great part of the entertainment we find in history, and in historical fables (a). At the same time, a perception that may be raised by fiction as well as by truth, would often mislead, were we abandoned to its impulse: but the God of nature hath provided a remedy for that evil, by erecting within the mind a tribunal, to which there lies an appeal from the rash impressions of sense. When the delusion of eloquence or of dread

(a) Elements of Criticism, ch. 2. part 1. § 7.

subsides, the perplexed mind is uncertain what to believe. A regular process commences, counsel is heard, evidence produced, and a final judgement pronounced, sometimes confirming, sometimes varying, the belief impressed upon us by the lively perception of reality. Thus, by a wise appointment of nature, intuitive belief is subjected to rational discussion: when confirmed by reason, it turns more vigorous and authoritative: when contradicted by reason, it disappears among sensible people. In some instances, it is too headstrong for reason; as in the case of hobgoblins and apparitions, which pass current among the vulgar in spite of reason.

We proceed to the other kind of belief, viz. that which is founded on reasoning, to which, when intuition fails us, we must have recourse for ascertaining certain facts. Thus, from known effects, we infer the existence of unknown causes. That an effect must have a cause, is an intuitive proposition; but to ascertain what particular thing is the cause, requires commonly a process of reasoning. This is one of the means by which the Deity, the primary cause, is made known to us, as mentioned above. Reason, in tracing causes from known effects, produces different degrees of conviction. It sometimes produces certainty, as in proving the existence of the Deity; which on that account is handled above, under the head of knowledge. For the most part it produces belief only, which, according to the strength of the reasoning, sometimes approaches to certainty, and sometimes is so weak as barely to turn the scale on the side of probability. Take the following examples of different degrees of belief founded on probable reasoning. When Inigo Jones flourished, and was the only architect of note in England, let it be supposed that his model of the palace of Whitehall had been presented to a stranger, without mentioning the author. The stranger, in the first place, would have been intuitively certain, that this was the work of
some

some being intelligent and skilful. Secondly, He would have had a conviction approaching to certainty, that the operator was a man. And, thirdly, He would have had a conviction that the man was Inigo Jones ; but less firm than the former. Let us next suppose another English architect little inferior in reputation to Jones : the stranger would still have pronounced in favour of the latter ; but his belief would have been in the lowest degree.

When we investigate the causes of certain effects, the reasoning is often founded upon the known nature of man. In the high country, for example, between Edinburgh and Glasgow, the people lay their coals at the end of their houses, without any fence to secure them from theft : whence it is rationally inferred, that coals are there in plenty. In the west of Scotland, the cornstacks are covered with great care and nicety : whence it is inferred, that the climate is rainy. Placentia is the capital town of Biscay ; and the only town in Newfoundland bears the same name ; from which circumstance it is conjectured, that the Biscayners were the first Europeans who made a settlement in that island.

Analogical reasoning, founded upon the uniformity of nature, is frequently employ'd in the investigation of facts ; and we infer, that facts of which we are uncertain, must resemble those of the same kind that are known. The bulk of the reasonings in natural philosophy are of that kind. Take the following examples. We learn from experience, that proceeding from the humblest vegetable to man, there are numberless classes of beings rising one above another, by differences scarce perceptible, and leaving nowhere a single gap or interval : and from conviction of the uniformity of nature, we infer, that the line is not broken off here, but is carried on in other worlds, till it end in the Deity. I proceed to another example. Every man is conscious of a self-motive power in himself ; and from the uniformity of nature, we
infer

infer the same power in every one of our own species. The argument here from analogy carries great weight, because we entertain no doubt of the uniformity of nature with respect to beings of our own kind. We apply the same argument to other animals, tho' their resemblance to man appears not so certain, as that of one man to another. But why not also apply the same argument to infer a self-motive power in matter? When we see matter in motion without an external mover, we naturally infer, that, like us, it moves itself. Another example is borrow'd from Maupertuis. "As there is no known space of the earth covered with water so large as the *Terra Australis incognita*, we may reasonably infer, that so great a part of the earth is not altogether sea, but that there must be some proportion of land." The uniformity of nature with respect to the intermixture of sea and land, is an argument that affords but a very slender degree of conviction. The following argument of the same kind, tho' it cannot be much rely'd on, seems however better founded. "The inhabitants of the northern hemisphere, have, in arts and sciences, excelled such of the southern as we have any knowledge of: and therefore, if inhabitants be found in the *Terra Australis incognita*, we ought not to expect among them many arts, nor much cultivation."

After a fatiguing investigation of numberless particulars which divide and scatter the thought, it may not be unpleasant to bring all under one view by a succinct recapitulation.

We have two means for discovering truth, and acquiring knowledge, viz. intuition and reasoning. By intuition we discover subjects, and their attributes, passions, internal action, and in short every thing that is matter of fact. By intuition we also discover several relations. There are some facts, and many relations, that cannot be discovered by a single act of intuition,
but

but require several such acts linked together in a chain of reasoning.

Knowledge acquired by intuition, includes for the most part certainty : in some instances it includes probability only. Knowledge acquired by reasoning, frequently includes certainty ; but more frequently includes probability only.

Probable knowledge, whether founded on intuition or on reasoning, is termed *opinion* when it concerns relations ; and is termed *belief* when it concerns facts. When knowledge includes certainty, it retains its proper name.

Reasoning that produces certainty, is termed *demonstrative* ; and is termed *probable*, when it only produces probability.

Demonstrative reasoning is of two kinds. The first is, where the conclusion is derived from the nature and inherent properties of the subject : mathematical reasoning is of that kind ; and perhaps the only instance. The second is, where the conclusion is derived from some proposition, of which we are certain by intuition.

Probable reasoning is endless in its varieties ; and affords different degrees of conviction, depending on the nature of the subject upon which it is employ'd.

S E C T. II.

P R O G R E S S O F R E A S O N.

A Progress from infancy to maturity in the mind of man, similar to that in his body, has been often mentioned. The external senses, being early necessary for self-preservation, arrive quickly at maturity. The internal senses are of a slower growth, as well as every other mental power: their maturity would be of little or no use while the body is weak, and unfit for action. Reasoning, as observed in the first section, requires two mental powers, viz. the power of invention, and that of perceiving relations. By the former power are discovered intermediate propositions, equally related to the fundamental proposition and to the conclusion; and that relation is verified by the latter power. Both powers are necessary to the person who frames an argument, or a chain of reasoning: the latter only to the person who judges of it. Savages are miserably deficient in both. With respect to the former, a savage may have a pregnant talent for invention; but it will stand him in little stead without a stock of ideas enabling him to select what may answer the purpose; and what opportunity has a savage to acquire such a stock? With respect to the latter, he knows little of relations: and how should he know, when both study and practice are necessary for distinguishing between relations, and for preventing the being imposed on by the shadow of a relation instead of the substance? The understanding, at the same time, among the illiterate, is obsequious to passion and prepossession;

stantinople; and the learned men of that city, abhorring the Turks and their government, took refuge in Italy. The Greek language was introduced among the western nations of Europe; and the study of Greek and Roman classics became fashionable. Men, having acquired new ideas, began to think for themselves: they exerted their native faculty of reason: the futility of Aristotle's logics became apparent to the penetrating; and is now apparent to all. Yet so late as the year 1621, several persons were banished from Paris for contradicting that philosopher, about matter and form, and about the number of the elements. And shortly after, the parliament of Paris prohibited, under pain of death, any thing to be taught contrary to the doctrines of Aristotle. Julius II. and Leo X. Roman Pontiffs, contributed zealously to the reformation of letters; but they did not foresee that they were also contributing to the reformation of religion, and of every science that depends on reasoning. Tho' the fetters of syllogism have many years ago been shaken off, yet, like a limb long kept from motion, the reasoning faculty has scarcely to this day attained its free and natural exercise. Mathematics is the only science that never has been cramped by syllogism, and we find reasoning there in great perfection at an early period. The very slow progress of reasoning in other matters, will appear from the following induction.

To exemplify erroneous and absurd reasonings of every sort, would be endless. The reader, I presume, will be satisfied with a few instances; and I shall endeavour to select what are amusing. For the sake of order, I divide them into three heads. First, Instances showing the imbecility of human reason during its non-age. Second, Erroneous reasoning occasioned by natural biases. Third, Erroneous reasoning occasioned by acquired biases. With respect to the first, instances are endless of reasonings founded on erroneous premises. It was an Epicurean doctrine, That the gods
have

have all of them a human figure; moved by the following argument, that no being of any other figure has the use of reason. Plato, taking for granted the following erroneous proposition, That every being which moves itself, must have a soul, concludes that the world must have a soul, because it moves itself (a). Aristotle taking it for granted, without the least evidence, and contrary to truth, that all heavy bodies tend to the centre of the universe, proves the earth to be the centre of the universe by the following argument. " Heavy bodies naturally tend to the centre
 " of the universe: we know by experience that heavy bodies
 " tend to the centre of the earth: therefore the centre of the earth
 " is the centre of the universe." Appion ridicules the Jews for adhering so literally to the precept of resting on their sabbath, as to suffer Jerusalem to be taken that day by Ptolomy son of Lagus. Mark the answer of Josephus: " Whoever passes a sober judge-
 " ment on this matter, will find our practice agreeable to honour
 " and virtue; for what can be more honourable and virtuous,
 " than to postpone our country, and even life itself, to the ser-
 " vice of God, and of his holy religion?" A strange idea of religion, to put it in direct opposition to every moral principle! A superstitious and absurd doctrine, That God will interpose by a miracle, to declare what is right in every matter of controversy, has occasioned much erroneous reasoning and absurd practice. The practice of determining controversies by single combat, commenced about the seventh century, when religion had degenerated into superstition, and courage was esteemed the only moral virtue. The parliament of Paris, in the reign of Charles VI. appointed a single combat between two gentlemen, in order to have the judgement of God, whether the one had committed a rape on

(a) Cicero, De natura Deorum, lib. 2. § 12.

the other's wife. In the 1454, John Picard being accused by his son-in-law for too great familiarity with his wife, a duel between them was appointed by the same parliament. Voltaire justly observes, that the parliament decreed a parricide to be committed, in order to try an accusation of incest, which possibly was not committed. The trials by water and by fire, rest on the same erroneous foundation. In the former, if the person accused sunk to the bottom, it was a judgement pronounced by God, that he was innocent: if he kept above, it was a judgement that he was guilty. Fleury (*a*) remarks, that if ever the person accused was found guilty, it was his own fault. In Sicily, a woman accused of adultery, was compelled to swear to her innocence: the oath, taken down in writing, was laid on water; and if it did not sink, the woman was innocent. We find the same practice in Japan, and in Malabar. One of the articles insisted on by the reformers in Scotland, was, That public prayers be made and the sacraments administered in the vulgar tongue. The answer of a provincial council was in the following words: "That to conceive public
 " prayers, or administer the sacraments, in any language but La-
 " tin, is contrary to the traditions and practice of the Catholic
 " church for many ages past; and that the demand cannot be
 " granted, without impiety to God, and disobedience to the
 " church." Here it is taken for granted, that the practice of the church is always right; which is building an argument on a very rotten foundation. The Caribbeans abstain from swines flesh; taking it erroneously for granted, that such food would make them have small eyes, held by them a great deformity. They also abstain from eating turtle; which they think would infect them with the laziness and stupidity of that animal. Upon the same er-

(*a*) *Histoire Ecclesiastique.*

roneous notion, the Brasilians abstain from the flesh of ducks, and of every creature that moves slowly.

A talent for writing seems in Germany to be estimated by weight, as beauty is said to be in Holland. Cocceius, for writing three weighty folio volumes on law, has obtained among his countrymen the epithet of *Great*. This author, handling the rules of succession in land-estates, has with most profound erudition founded all of them upon a very simple proposition, viz. That in a competition, that descendent is entitled to be preferred who has the greatest quantity of the predecessor's blood in his veins. *Queritur*, has a man any of his predecessor's blood in his veins, otherwise than metaphorically? Strange! to build an argument in law upon a pure metaphor.

Next of reasonings where the conclusion follows not from the premisses, or fundamental proposition. Plato endeavours to prove, that the world is endowed with wisdom, by the following argument. "The world is greater than any of its parts: therefore it is endowed with wisdom; for otherwise a man who is endowed with wisdom would be greater than the world (a)." The conclusion here does not follow; for tho' man is endowed with wisdom, it follows not, that he is greater than the world in point of size. Zeno endeavours to prove, that the world has the use of reason, by an argument of the same kind. Pope Gregory, writing in favour of the four councils, viz. Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Calcedon, reasons thus: "That as there are four evangelists, there ought also to be four councils." What would he have said, if he had lived 100 years later, when there were many more than four? In administering the sacrament of the Lord's supper, it was ordered, that the host should be covered with a clean linen cloth; because, says the Canon law, the body

(a) Cicero, De natura Deorum, lib. 2. § 12.

of our Lord Jesus Christ was buried in a clean linen cloth. Josephus, in his answer to Appion, urges the following argument for the temple of Jerusalem: "As there is but one God, and one world, it holds in analogy, that there should be but one temple." At that rate, there should be but one worshipper. And why should that one temple be at Jerusalem rather than at Rome or at Pekin? The Syrians and Greeks did not for a long time eat fish. Two reasons are assigned: one is, That fish is not sacrificed to the gods; the other, That being immersed in the sea, they look not up to heaven (*a*). The first would afford a more plausible argument for eating fish. And if the other have any weight, it would be an argument for sacrificing men, and neither fish nor cattle. In justification of the Salic law, which prohibits female succession, it was long held a conclusive argument, That in the scripture the lilies are said neither to work nor to spin. Vieira, termed by his countrymen *the Lusitanian Cicero*, published sermons, one of which begins thus, "Were the Supreme Being to show himself visibly, he would chuse the circle rather than the triangle, the square, the pentagon, the duodecagon, or any other figure." But why appear in any of these figures? And if he were obliged to appear in so mean a shape, a globe is undoubtedly more beautiful than a circle. Peter Hantz of Horn, who lived in the last century, imagined that Noah's ark is the true construction of a ship; "which," said he, "is the workmanship of God, and therefore perfect;" as if a vessel made merely for floating on the water, were the best also for sailing. Sixty or seventy years ago, the fashion prevailed, in imitation of birds, to swallow small stones for the sake of digestion; as if what is proper for birds, were equally proper for men. The Spaniards, who laid waste a great part of the West Indies, endeavoured to excuse their cruel-

(*a*) Sir John Marsham, p. 221.

ties,

find him capable of such childish reasoning? And yet that work has been the admiration of all the world for centuries upon centuries. Nay, that foolish argument has been espoused and commented upon by his disciples, for the same length of time. To proceed to another instance: Marriage within the fourth degree of consanguinity, as well as of affinity, is prohibited by the Lateran council; and the reason given is, That the body being made up of the four elements, has four different humours in it *. The Roman Catholics began with beheading heretics, hanging them, or stoning them to death. But such punishments were discovered to be too slight, in matters of faith. It was demonstrated, that heretics ought to be burnt in a slow fire: it was taken for granted, that God punishes them in the other world with a slow fire; and hence it was inferred, "That as every prince and every magistrate is the image of God in this world, they ought to follow his example." Here is a double error in reasoning: first, the taking for granted the fundamental proposition, which is surely not self-evident; and next, the drawing a conclusion from it without any connection.

It once was a general opinion among those who dwelt near the sea, that people never die but during the ebb of the tide. And there were not wanting plausible reasons. The sea, in flowing, carries with it vivifying particles that recruit the sick. The sea is salt, and salt preserves from rottenness. When the sea sinks in

* The original is curious: "Quaternarius enim numerus bene congruit prohibitioni conjugii corporalis; de quo dicit Apostolus, Quod vir non habet partem sui corporis, sed mulier; neque mulier habet potestatem sui corporis, sed vir; quia quatuor sunt humores in corpore, quod constat ex quatuor elementis." Were men who could be guilty of such nonsense, qualified to be our leaders in the most important of all concerns, that of eternal salvation?

ebbing,

rably populous, as undoubtedly it was at that period, the 21st of April, or any day of April, might have given birth to thousands. In many countries, the surgeons and barbers are classed together, as members of the same trade, from a very slight relation, that both of them operate upon the human body. The Jews enjoy'd the reputation for centuries, of being skilful physicians. Francis I. of France, having long laboured under a disease that eluded the art of his own physicians, apply'd to the Emperor Charles V. for a Jewish physician from Spain. Finding that the person sent had been converted to Christianity, the King refused to employ him; as if a Jew were to lose his skill upon being converted to Christianity. Why did not the King order one of his own physicians to be converted to Judaism? The following childish argument is built upon an extreme slight relation, that between our Saviour, and the wooden cross he suffered on. "Believe me," says Julius Firmicus, "that the devil omits nothing to destroy
 "miserable mortals; converting himself into every different form,
 "and employing every sort of artifice. He appoints wood to be
 "used in sacrificing to him, knowing that our Saviour, fixed to
 "the cross, would bestow immortality upon all his followers. A
 "pine-tree is cut down, and used in sacrificing to the mother of
 "the gods. A wooden image of Osiris is buried in sacrificing to
 "Isis. A wooden image of Proserpina is bemoaned for forty
 "nights, and then thrown into the flames. Deluded mortals,
 "these flames can do you no service. On the contrary, the fire
 "that is destined for your punishment rages without end. Learn
 "from me to know that divine wood which will set you free. A
 "wooden ark saved the human race from the universal deluge.
 "Abraham put wood upon the shoulders of his son Isaac. The
 "wooden rod stretched out by Aaron brought the children of Is-
 "rael out of the land of Egypt. Wood sweetened the bitter wa-
 "ters of Marah, and comforted the children of Israel after wan-
 "dering

“ dering three days without water. A wooden rod struck water
 “ out of the rock. The rod of God in the hand of Moses over-
 “ came Amalek. The patriarch dreamed, that he saw angels de-
 “ scending and ascending upon a wooden ladder : and the law of
 “ God was inclosed in a wooden ark. These things were exhi-
 “ bited, that, as if it were by certain steps, we might ascend to
 “ the wood of the cross, which is our salvation. The wood of the
 “ cross sustains the heavenly machine, supports the foundations
 “ of the earth, and leads men to eternal life. The wood of the devil
 “ burns and perishes, and its ashes carries down sinners to the
 “ lowest pit of hell.” The very slightest relations make an impres-
 sion on a weak understanding. It was a fancy of Antoninus Geta,
 in ordering his table, to have services composed of dishes begin-
 ning with the same letter ; such as lamb and lobster ; broth, beef,
 blood-pudding ; pork, plumbcake, pigeons, potatoes. The name
 of John King of Scotland was changed into *Robert*, for no better
 reason, than that the Johns of France and of England had been
 unfortunate.

In reasoning, instances are not rare, of mistaking the cause for
 the effect, and the effect for the cause. When a stone is thrown
 from the hand, the continuance of its motion in the air, was once
 universally accounted for as follows : “ That the air follows the
 “ stone at the heels, and pushes it on.” The effect here is mista-
 ken for the cause : the air indeed follows the stone at the heels ;
 but it only fills the vacuity made by the stone, and does not push
 it on. It has been flyly urged against the art of physic, that phy-
 sicians are rare among temperate people, such as have no wants
 but those of nature ; and that where physicians abound, diseases
 abound. This is mistaking the cause for the effect, and the effect
 for the cause : people in health have no occasion for a physician ;
 but indolence and luxury beget diseases, and diseases beget phy-
 sicians.

During the nonage of reason, men are satisfied with words merely, instead of an argument. A sea-prospect bounded is charming; but we soon tire of an unbounded prospect. It would not give satisfaction to say, that it is too extensive; for why should not a prospect be relished, however extensive? But employ a foreign term and say, that it is *trop vaste*, we enquire no farther: a term that is not familiar, makes an impression, and captivates weak reason. This observation accounts for a mode of writing formerly in common use, that of stuffing our language with Latin words and phrases. These are now laid aside as useless; because a proper emphasis in reading, makes an impression deeper than any foreign term can do.

There is one proof of the imbecility of human reason in dark times, which would scarce be believed, were not the fact supported by incontestable evidence. Instead of explaining any natural appearance by searching for a cause, it has been common to account for it by inventing a fable, which gave satisfaction without enquiring farther. For example, instead of giving the true cause of the succession of day and night, the sacred book of the Scandinavians, termed *Edda*, accounts for that succession by a tale: "The giant Nor had a daughter named " *Night*, of a dark complexion. She was wedded to Daglingar, " of the family of the gods. They had a male child, which " they named *Day*, beautiful and shining like all of his father's " family. The universal father took Night and Day, placed them " in heaven, and gave them two horses and two cars, that they " might travel round the world, the one after the other. Night " goes first upon her horse named *Rimfaxe*, [Frosty Mane], who " moistens the earth with the foam that drops from his bit, which " is the dew. The horse belonging to Day is named *Skinfaxe*, " [Shining Mane], who by his radiant mane illuminates the air " and

“ and the earth.” It is observed by the translator of the Edda, that this way of accounting for things is well suited to the turn of the human mind, which is endowed with curiosity that is extremely keen, but easily satisfied, often with words instead of ideas. Zoroaster, by a similar fable, accounts for the growth of evil in this world. He invents a good and an evil principle named *Oromazes* and *Arimanes*, who are in continual conflict for preference. At the last day, Oromazes will be reunited to the supreme God, from whom he issued. Arimanes will be subdued, darkness destroyed; and the world, purified by an universal conflagration, will become a luminous and shining abode, from which evil will be excluded. I return to the Edda, which is stored with fables of this kind. The highest notion savages can form of the gods, is that of men endowed with extraordinary power and knowledge. The only puzzling circumstance is, how they differ so much from man as to be immortal. The Edda accounts for this by the following fable. “ The gods prevented the effect of old age and decay, by continuing to eat certain apples, trusted to the care of *Iduna*. *Loke*, the Momus of the Scandinavians, craftily conveyed away *Iduna*, and concealed her in a wood, under the custody of a giant. The gods beginning to wax old and gray, detected the author of the theft; and, by terrible menaces, compelled him to employ his utmost cunning, for regaining *Iduna* and her apples, in which he was successful.” The origin of poetry is thus accounted for in the same work: “ The gods formed *Cuaser*, who traversed the earth, teaching wisdom to men. He was treacherously slain by two dwarfs, who, mixing honey with his blood, composed a liquor that renders all who drink of it poets. These dwarfs having incurred the resentment of a certain giant, were exposed by him upon a rock, surrounded on all sides with the sea. They gave for their ran-

“ some

“ from the said liquor, which the giant delivered to his daughter
 “ *Gunloda*. The precious potion was eagerly sought for by the
 “ gods ; but how were they to come at it ? *Odin*, in the shape
 “ of a worm, crept through a crevice into the cavern where the
 “ liquor was concealed. Then resuming his natural shape, and
 “ obtaining *Gunloda*’s consent to take three draughts, he sucked
 “ up the whole ; and, transforming himself into an eagle, flew
 “ away to *Asgard*. The giant, who was a magician, flew with
 “ all speed after *Odin*, and came up with him near the gate of
 “ *Asgard*. The gods issued out of their palaces to assist their ma-
 “ ster ; and presented to him all the pitchers they could lay hands
 “ on, which he instantly filled with the precious liquor. But in
 “ the hurry of discharging his load, *Odin* poured only part of the
 “ liquor through his beak, the rest being emitted through a less
 “ pure vent. The former is bestow’d by the gods upon good
 “ poets, to inspire them with divine enthusiasm. The latter,
 “ which is in much greater plenty, is bestow’d liberally on all
 “ who apply for it ; by which means the world is pestered with
 “ an endless quantity of wretched verses.” Ignorance is equally
 credulous in all ages. *Albert*, surnamed *the Great*, flourished in
 the thirteenth century, and was a man of real knowledge. Du-
 ring the course of his education he was remarkably dull ; and
 some years before he died became a sort of changeling. That sin-
 gularity produced the following history : That the holy *Virgin*, ap-
 pearing to him, demanded, whether he would excel in philosophy
 or in theology ; that upon his chusing the former, she promised,
 that he should become an incomparable philosopher ; but added,
 that to punish him for not preferring theology, he should become
 stupid again as at first.

Upon a slight view, it may appear unaccountable, that even
 the grossest savages should take a childish tale for a solid reason.
 But nature aids the deception : where things are related in a live-
 ly

ly manner, and every circumstance appears as passing in our sight, we take all for granted as true (a). Can an ignorant rustic doubt of inspiration, when he sees as it were the poet sipping the pure celestial liquor? And how can that poet fail to produce bad verses, who feeds on the excrements that drop from the fundament even of a deity?

In accounting for natural appearances, even good writers have betray'd a weakness in reasoning, little inferior to that above mentioned. They do not indeed put off their disciples with a tale; but they put them off with a mere supposition, not more real than the tale. Descartes ascribes the motion of the planets to a vortex of ether whirling round and round. He thought not of enquiring whether there really be such a vortex, nor what makes it move. M. Buffon forms the earth out of a splinter of the sun, struck off by a comet. May not one be permitted humbly to enquire at that eminent philosopher, what formed the comet? This passes for solid reasoning; and yet we laugh at the poor Indian, who supports the earth from falling by an elephant, and the elephant by a tortoise.

It is still more ridiculous to reason upon what is acknowledged to be a fiction, as if it were real. Such are the fictions admitted in the Roman law. A Roman taken captive in war, lost his privilege of being a Roman citizen; for freedom was held essential to that privilege. But what if he made his escape, after perhaps an hour's detention? The hardship in that case ought to have suggested an alteration of the law, which was, to suspend the privilege no longer than the captivity subsisted. But the ancient Romans were not so ingenious. They remedied the hardship by a fiction, that the man never had been a captive. The Frederician code banishes from the law of Prussia an endless number of

(a) Elements of Criticism, vol. 1. p. 100. edit. 5.

fictions that are found in the Roman law (Preface, sect. 28.). Yet afterward, treating of personal rights, it is laid down as a rule, That a child in the womb is feigned or supposed to be born when the fiction is for its advantage (part 1. b. 1. tit. 4. sect. 4.). To a weak reasoner a fiction is a happy contrivance for resolving intricate questions. Such is the constitution of England, that the English law-courts are merely territorial; and that no fact happening abroad comes under their cognifance. An Englishman, after murdering his fellow-traveller in France, returns to his native country. What is to be done? for guilt ought not to pass unpunished. The crime is feigned to have been committed in England.

Ancient histories are full of incredible facts that passed current during the infancy of reason, which at present would be rejected with contempt. Every man who is conversant in the history of ancient nations, can recall instances without end. Does any one believe at present, tho' gravely reported by historians, that in old Rome there was a law, for cutting into pieces the body of a bankrupt, and distributing the parts among his creditors? The story of Porfenna and Scevola is highly romantic; and the story of Vampires in Hungary, shamefully absurd. There is no reason to believe, that there ever was such a state as that of the Amazons; and the story of Thalestris and Alexander the Great is undoubtedly a fiction. Scotch historians describe gravely and circumstantially the battle of Luncarty, as if they had been eye-witnesses. A country-man and his two sons, it is said, were ploughing in an adjacent field, during the heat of the action. Enraged at their countrymen for turning their backs, they broke the plough in pieces; and each laying hold of a part, rushed into the midst of the battle, and obtained a complete victory over the Danes. This story has every mark of fiction: A man following out unconcernedly his ordinary occupation of ploughing, in
fight

occasioned by natural biases. The first bias I shall mention has an extensive influence. What is seen, makes a deeper impression, than what is heard by report, or discovered by reflection. Hence it is, that in judging of right and wrong, the external act only draws the attention of the ignorant and illiterate, who cannot penetrate into will or intention; and hence it is, that in religion great weight is laid upon forms and ceremonies, without much regarding their purpose. These particulars come in afterward, in the progress of morality and religion. What belongs to the present sketch is to observe, that in judging of covenants, laws, vows, and other acts that are completed by words, the whole weight in days of ignorance is laid upon the external expression, with no regard to the meaning of the speaker or writer. The blessing bestow'd by Isaac upon his son Jacob, mistaking him for Esau, is an illustrious instance. Not only was the blessing intended for Esau, but Jacob, by deceiving his father, had rendered himself unworthy of it (*a*); yet Isaac had pronounced the sounds, and it was not in his power to unsay them: *Nescit vox emissa reverti*. Joshuah, grossly imposed on by the Gibeonites denying that they were Canaanites, made a covenant with them; and yet, tho' he found them to be Canaanites, he held himself to be bound. Led by the same bias, people think it sufficient to fulfil the words of a vow, however short of intention. The Duke of Lancaster, vexed at the obstinate resistance of Rennes, a town in Britany, vowed in wrath not to raise the siege till he had planted the English colours upon one of the gates. This proved a rash vow. He found it necessary to raise the siege, but his vow stood in the way. The governor relieved him from his scruple, permitting him to plant his colours upon one of the gates; and he was satisfied that his vow was fulfilled. The following is an example of an absurd

(*a*) Genesis, chap. 27.

man who had lifted a sword against his sovereign *. It is a salutary regulation, that a man who is absent cannot be tried for his life. Pope Formosus died suddenly without suffering any punishment for his crimes. But this did not save his goods from confiscation: he was dug out of his grave, dressed in his pontifical habit; and in that shape a criminal process went on against him. Could it seriously be thought, that a rotten carcase brought into court was sufficient to fulfil the law? The same absurd farce was played in Scotland, upon the body of Logan of Restalrig, several years after his interment. The body of Tancred King of Sicily was raised from the grave, and the head cut off for supposed rebellion. Henry IV. of Castile was deposed in absence; but, for a colour of justice, the following ridiculous scene was acted. A wooden statue dressed in a royal habit, was placed on a theatre; and the sentence of deposition was solemnly read to it, as if it had been the King himself. The Archbishop of Toledo seized the crown, another the sceptre, a third the sword; and the ceremony was concluded with proclaiming another king. How humbling are such scenes to man, who values himself upon the faculty of reason as his prime attribute! An expedient of that kind would now be rejected with disdain, as fit only to amuse children; and yet it grieves me to observe that law-proceedings are not yet totally purged of such dross. By a law in Holland, the criminal's confession is essential to a capital punishment, no manner evidence being held sufficient: and yet if he insist on his innocence, he is tortured till he pronounce the words of confession; as if sounds merely were sufficient, without will or intention. The practice of England in a similar case, is no less absurd. Confes-

* A person unacquainted with the history of law, will imagine that Swift has carried beyond all bounds his satire against lawyers, in saying, that Gulliver had incurred a capital punishment, for saving the Emperor's palace by pissing out the fire; it being capital in any person of what quality soever, to make water within the precincts of the palace.

sion is not there required; but it is required, that the person accused should plead, and say whether he is innocent or guilty. But what if he stand mute? He is pressed down by weights till he plead; and if he continue mute, he is pressed till he give up the ghost, a torture known by the name of *Peine forte et dure* *. Further, law copying religion, has exalted ceremonies above the substantial part. In England, so strictly has form been adhered to, as to make the most trivial defect in words fatal, however certain the meaning may be. *Murdredavit* for *murdravit*, *feloniter* for *felonice*, have been adjudged to vitiate an indictment. *Burgariter* for *burglariter* hath been a fatal objection; but *burgulariter* hath been holden good. Webster being indicted for murder, and the stroke being laid "*sinistro bracio*" instead of "*brachio*," he was dismissed. *A. B. alias dictus A. C. Butcher*, was found to vitiate the indictment; because it ought to have been *A. B. Butcher, alias dictus A. C. Butcher*. So *gladium in dextra sua*, without *manu*.

There is no bias in human nature more prevalent than an appetite to anticipate futurity, by being made acquainted beforehand with what will happen. That appetite was indulged without reserve in dark times; and hence omens, auguries, dreams, judicial astrology, oracles, and prophecies, without end. It shows strange weakness in the rational faculty, not to see, that such foreknowledge would be a gift more pernicious to man than Pandora's box: it would deprive him of every motive to action; and leave no place for sagacity, nor for contriving means to bring about a desired event. Life is an enchanted castle, that gives play to passions, and exercise to reason: remove the veil that hides futurity—behold the enchanted castle gone, and in its stead a

* Since the above was written, an act of parliament has been passed, by which the legislature, sensible of the absurdity of the old law, has enacted, That persons arraigned for felony or piracy, who stand mute, or refuse to answer directly to the indictment, shall be held as confessing, and judgement shall pass against them, as if they had been convicted by verdict or confession.

barren and insipid prospect. Anxiety about futurity rouses our sagacity to prepare for what may happen ; but an appetite to know what sagacity cannot discover, is a weakness in nature inconsistent with every rational principle *.

An appetite for things rare and wonderful, is a natural bias no less universal than the former. Any strange or unaccountable event rouses the attention, and enflames the mind : we suck it in greedily, wish it to be true, and believe it to be true upon the slightest evidence ; because such belief gratifies the appetite. A hart taken in the forest of Senlis by Charles VI. of France, bore a collar upon which was inscribed, *Cæsar hoc me donavit* †. The appetite for wonder made every one believe, that a Roman Emperor was meant, and that the beast must have lived at least a thousand years ; overlooking that the Emperor of Germany is also styled *Cæsar*, and that it was not necessary to go back fifty years. This appetite displays itself even in childhood : stories of ghosts and apparitions are anxiously listened to ; and firmly believed, by means of the terror they occasion : and the vulgar accordingly have been captivated with such stories, upon evidence that would not be sufficient to ascertain the simplest fact (a). The absurd and childish prodigies that are every where scattered through the history of Titus Livius, not to mention other ancient historians, would be unaccountable in a writer of sense and gravity, were it not for the appetite mentioned. But human belief is not left at the mercy of every irregular bias. Our maker has subjected belief to the correction of the rational faculty ; and accordingly, in proportion as reason advances toward maturity, wonders, prodigies,

* Foreknowledge of future events, differs widely from a conviction, that all events are fixed and immutable : the latter leaves us free to activity ; the former annihilates all activity.

† “ Cæsar gave me this.”

(a) Elements of Criticism, ch. 2. part 5.

consummate politician, and well stored with knowledge from books as well as from experience, might be fortified against foolish miracles, if any man can be fortified : and yet behold his superstitious credulity in childish stories ; no less weak in that particular, than was his cotemporary Grotius. He gravely relates an incident regarding the assassination of the Duke of Buckingham, the sum of which follows. “ There were many stories scattered a-
“ broad at that time, of prophecies and predictions of the Duke’s
“ untimely and violent death ; one of which was upon a better
“ foundation of credit, than usually such discourses are founded
“ upon. There was an officer in the King’s wardrobe in Wind-
“ sor castle, of reputation for honesty and discretion, and at that
“ time about the age of fifty. About six months before the mi-
“ serable end of the Duke, this man being in bed, and in good
“ health, there appeared to him at midnight a man of a venerable
“ aspect, who drawing the curtains, and fixing his eye upon him,
“ said, Do you know me, Sir. The poor man, half dead with
“ fear, answered, That he thought him to be Sir George Villiers,
“ father to the Duke. Upon which he was ordered by the appa-
“ rition, to go to the Duke, and tell him, that if he did not some-
“ what to ingratiate himself with the people, he would be suffered
“ to live but a short time. The same person appeared to him a second
“ and a third time, reproaching him bitterly for not performing
“ his promise. The poor man pluck’d up as much courage as to
“ excuse himself, that it was difficult to find access to the Duke,
“ and that he would be thought a madman. The apparition im-
“ parted to him some secrets, which he said would be his cre-
“ dentials to the Duke. The officer, introduced to the Duke by
“ Sir Ralph Freeman, was received courteously. They walked
“ together near an hour ; and the Duke sometimes spoke with
“ great commotion, tho’ his servants, with Sir Ralph, were at
“ such a distance that they could not hear a word. The officer,
“ returning

with an apparition to himself, than by hearing it at second hand. The officer was afraid of being taken for a madman; and the Duke had some reason to think him such. Lastly, The apparition happened above three months before the Duke's death; and yet we hear not of a single step taken by him, in pursuance of the advice given him. The authority of the historian, and the regard we owe him, have drawn from me the foregoing reflections; which with respect to the story itself are very little necessary; for the evidence is really not such as to verify any ordinary occurrence. His Lordship acknowledges, that he had no evidence but common report, saying, that it was one of the many stories scattered about at that time. He does not say, that the story was related to him by the officer, whose name he does not even mention, or by Sir Ralph Freeman, or by the Duke's mother, or by the Duke himself. If ever any thing happened like the story in question, it may with good reason be supposed, that the officer was crazy, or enthusiastically mad: nor have we any evidence beyond common report, that he communicated any secrets to the Duke. I shall only add upon this article, that here are two remarkable instances of an observation made above, that a man may be high in one science and very low in another. Had Grotius, or had Clarendon, studied the fundamentals of reason and religion coolly and impartially, as they did other sciences, they would never have given faith to reports so ill vouched, and so contradictory to every sound principle of theology.

Another source of erroneous reasoning is, a singular tendency in the mind of man to mysteries and hidden meanings. The busy mind is seldom satisfied with the simple and obvious intendment, where the object makes a deep impression: invention is roused to allegorize, and to pierce into hidden views and purposes. I have a notable example at hand, with respect to forms and ceremonies
in

“ of the twelve months, or of the twelve signs in the zodiac. The
 “ violet-coloured tiara is a resemblance of heaven ; and it would
 “ be irreverent to have written the sacred name of God upon any
 “ other colour. The triple crown and plate of gold give us to
 “ understand the glory and majesty of Almighty God. This is a
 “ plain illustration of these matters ; and I would not lose any
 “ opportunity of doing justice to the honour and wisdom of our
 “ incomparable lawgiver.” How much wire-drawn, and how
 remote from any appearance of truth, are the foregoing allusions
 and imagined resemblances ! But religious forms and ceremonies,
 however arbitrary, are never held to be so. If an useful purpose
 do not appear, it is taken for granted, that there must be a hidden
 meaning ; and any meaning, however childish, will serve at a
 pinch. Such propensity there is in dark ages for allegorizing, that
 even our Saviour’s miracles have not escaped. Where-ever any
 seeming difficulty occurs in the plain sense, the fathers of the
 church, Origen, Augustine, and Hilary, are never at a loss for a
 mystic meaning. . “ Sacrifice to the celestial gods with an odd
 “ number, and to the terrestrial gods with an even number,” is a
 precept of Pythagoras. Another is, “ Turn round in adoring the
 “ gods, and sit down when thou hast worshipped.” The learned
 make a strange bustle about the hidden meaning of these precepts.
 But, after all, have they any hidden meaning ? Forms and cere-
 monies are useful in external worship, for occupying the vulgar ;
 and it is of no importance what they are, provided they prevent
 the mind from wandering. Why such partiality to ancient cere-
 monies, when no hidden meaning is supposed in those of Chri-
 stians, such as bowing to the east, or the priest performing the li-
 turgy, partly in a black upper garment, partly in a white. No
 ideas are more simple than of numbers, nor less susceptible of a-
 ny hidden meaning ; and yet the profound Pythagoras has ima-
 gined many such meanings. The number *one*, says he, having

no

no parts, represents the Deity : it represents also order, peace, and tranquillity, which result from unity of sentiment. The number *two* represents disorder, confusion, and change. He discovered in the number *three* the most sublime mysteries : all things are composed, says he, of three substances. The number *four* is holy in its nature, and constitutes the divine essence, which consists in unity, power, benevolence, and wisdom. Would one believe, that the great philosopher, who demonstrated the 47th proposition of the first book of Euclid, was the inventor of such childish conceits ? Perhaps Pythagoras meant only to divert himself with them. Whether so or not, it seems difficult to be explained, how such trifles were preserved in memory, and handed down to us through so many generations. All that can be said is, that during the infancy of knowledge, every novelty makes a figure, and that it requires a long course of time to separate the corn from the chaff *. A certain writer, smitten with the conceit of hidden meanings, has applied his talent to the constellations of the zodiac. The *lion* typifies the force or heat of the sun in the month of July, when he enters that constellation. The constellation where the sun is in the month of August is termed the *virgin*, signifying the time of harvest. He enters the *balance* in September, denoting the equality of day and night. The *scorpion*, where he is found in October, is an emblem of the diseases that are frequent during that month, &c. The *balance*, I acknowledge, is well hit

* The following precepts of the same philosopher, tho' now only fit for the *Child's Guide*, were originally cherished, and preserved in memory, as emanations of superior wisdom. " Do not enter a temple for worship, but with a decent air. " Render not life painful by undertaking too many affairs. Be always ready for " what may happen. Never bind yourself by a vow, nor by an oath. Irritate " not a man who is angry." The seven wise men of Greece made a figure in their time ; but it would be unreasonable to expect, that what they taught during the infancy of knowledge, should make a figure in its maturity.

off; but I see not clearly the resemblance of the force of a lion to the heat of the sun; and still less that of harvest to a virgin: the spring would be more happily represented by a virgin, and the harvest by a woman in the act of delivery.

The tendency in the mind of man to mysteries and allegories, displays itself with great vigour upon our forefathers, and upon the ancients in general, by means of the great veneration that is paid them. Before writing was known, ancient history is made up of traditional fables. A Trojan Brutus peopled England; and the Scots are descended from Scota, daughter to an Egyptian king. What reason have we to doubt but that histories of the heathen gods are equally involved in fable? We pretend not to draw any hidden meaning from the former: why should we suspect any such meaning in the latter? Allegory is a species of writing too refined for a savage or barbarian: it is the fruit of a cultivated imagination; and was a late invention even in Greece. The allegories of Esop are of the simplest kind, and yet they were composed after learning began to flourish; and Cebes, whose allegory about the life of man is justly celebrated, was a disciple of Socrates. Prepossession however in favour of the ancients makes us conclude, that there must be some hidden meaning or allegory in their historical fables; for no better reason than that they are destitute of common sense. In the Greek mythology, there are numberless fables related as historical facts merely; witness the fable of gods mixing with women, and procreating giants, like what we find in the fabulous histories of many other nations; these giants attempting to dethrone Jupiter; Apollo keeping the sheep of Admetus; Minerva springing from the head of Jove*; Bacchus

* However easy it may be to draw an allegorical meaning out of that fable, I cannot admit any such meaning to have been intended. An allegory is a fable contrived

Bacchus 'cut out of his thigh; Orpheus going to hell for his wife; Mars and Venus caught by Vulcan in a net; and a thousand other such childish stories. But the Greeks, many centuries after the invention of such foolish fables, becoming illustrious for arts and sciences, nothing would satisfy writers in later times, but to dub them profound philosophers even in their cradle, when mere savages; and hence endless attempts to detect mysteries and hidden meanings in their fables. Let other interpreters of that kind pass; they give me no concern: but I cannot, without the deepest concern, behold our illustrious philosopher Bacon employing his talents so absurdly. What imbecility must there be in human nature, when so great a genius is capable of such puerilities! As a subject so humbling is far from being agreeable, I confine myself to a few instances. In an ancient fable, Prometheus formed man out of clay; and kindling a bundle of birch rods at the chariot of the sun, brought down fire to the earth for the use of his creature man. And tho' ungrateful man complained to Jupiter of that theft, yet the god, pleased with the ingenuity of Prometheus, not only confirmed to man the use of fire, but conferred on him a gift much more considerable: the gift was perpetual youth, which was laid upon an ass to be carried to the earth. The ass, wanting to drink at a brook, was opposed by a serpent, who insisted to have the burden, without which, no drink for the poor ass. And thus, for a draught of plain water, was perpetual youth transferred from man to the serpent. This fable has a striking resemblance to many in the Edda; and, in the

trived to illustrate some acknowledged truth, by making a deeper impression than the truth would make in plain words; of which we have several beautiful instances in the Spectator (Elements of Criticism, chap. 20. § 6.). But the fable here was understood to be a matter of fact, Minerva being worshipped by the Greeks as a real goddess, the daughter of Jupiter without a mother.

manner

manner of the Edda, accounts for the invention of fire, and for the mortality of man. Nor is there in all the Edda one more childish, or more distant from any appearance of a rational meaning. It is handled however by our philosopher, with much solemn gravity, as if every source of wisdom were locked up in it. The explanation he gives, being too long to be copied here, shall be reduced to a few particulars. After an elogium upon fire, his Lordship proceeds thus. "The manner wherein Prometheus stole his fire, is properly described from the nature of the thing; he being said to have done it by applying a rod of birch to the chariot of the sun: for birch is used in striking and beating; which clearly denotes fire to proceed from violent percussions and collisions of bodies, whereby the matters struck are subtilized, rarefied, put into motion, and so prepared to receive the heat of the celestial bodies. And accordingly they, in a clandestine and secret manner, snatch fire, as it were by stealth, from the chariot of the sun." He goes on as follows. "The next is a remarkable part of the fable; which represents, that men, instead of gratitude, accused both Prometheus and his fire to Jupiter: and yet the accusation proved so pleasant to Jupiter, that he not only indulged mankind the use of fire, but conferred upon them perpetual youth. Here it may seem strange, that the sin of ingratitude should meet with approbation or reward. But the allegory has another view; and denotes, that the accusation both of human nature and human art, proceeds from a noble and laudable temper of mind, viz. modesty; and also tends to a very good purpose, viz. to stir up fresh industry and new discoveries." Can any thing be more wire-drawn?

Vulcan, attempting the chastity of Minerva, had recourse to force. In the struggle, his *semen*, falling upon the ground, produced Ericthonius; whose body from the middle upward was comely

comely and well proportioned, his thighs and legs small and deformed like an eel. Conscious of that defect, he was the inventor of chariots ; which showed the graceful part of his body, and concealed what was deformed. Listen to the explanation of this ridiculous fable. “ Art, by the various uses it makes of fire, is here represented by Vulcan : and Nature is represented by Minerva, because of the industry employ’d in her works. Art, when it offers violence to Nature in order to bend her to its purpose, seldom attains the end proposed. Yet, upon great struggle and application, there proceed certain imperfect births, or lame abortive works ; which however, with great pomp and deceitful appearances, are triumphantly carried about, and shown by impostors.” I admit the ingenuity of that forc’d meaning ; but had the inventor of that fable any latent meaning ? If he had, why did he conceal it ? The ingenious meaning would have merited praise ; the fable itself none at all.

I shall add but one other instance, for they grow tiresome. Sphinx was a monster, having the face and voice of a virgin, the wings of a bird, and the talons of a gryphon. She resided on the summit of a mountain, near the city Thebes. Her manner was, to lie in ambush for travellers, to propose dark riddles which she received from the Muses, and to tear those to pieces who could not solve them. The Thebans having offered their kingdom to the man who should interpret these riddles, Oedipus presented himself before the monster, and he was required to explain the following riddle, viz. What creature is that, which being born four-footed, becomes afterwards two-footed, then three-footed, and lastly four-footed again. Oedipus answered, It was man, who in his infancy crawls upon his hands and feet, then walks upright upon his two feet, walks in old age with a stick, and at last lies four-footed in bed. Oedipus having thus obtained the victory, slew the monster ; and laying the carcase upon an ass,

carried it off in triumph. Now for the explanation. “ This is
 “ an elegant and instructive fable, invented to represent science :
 “ for Science may be called a monster, being strangely gazed at
 “ and admired by the ignorant. Her figure and form is various,
 “ by reason of the vast variety of subjects that science considers.
 “ Her voice and countenance are represented female, by reason
 “ of her gay appearance, and volubility of speech. Wings are
 “ added, because the sciences and their inventions fly about in
 “ a moment; for knowledge, like light communicated from
 “ torch to torch, is presently caught, and copiously diffused.
 “ Sharp and hooked talons are elegantly attributed to her; be-
 “ cause the axioms and arguments of science fix down the
 “ mind, and keep it from moving or flipping away.” Again :
 “ All science seems placed on high, as it were on the tops of
 “ mountains that are hard to climb; for science is justly imagi-
 “ ned a sublime and lofty thing, looking down upon ignorance,
 “ and at the same time taking an extensive view on all sides, as
 “ is usual on the tops of mountains. Sphinx is said to propose
 “ difficult questions and riddles, which she received from the
 “ Muses. These questions, while they remain with the Muses,
 “ may be pleasant, as contemplation and enquiry are when know-
 “ ledge is their only aim : but after they are delivered to Sphinx,
 “ that is, to practice, which impels to action, choice, and deter-
 “ mination; then it is that they become severe and torturing;
 “ and unless solved, strangely perplex the human mind, and tear
 “ it to pieces. It is with the utmost elegance added in the fable,
 “ that the carcass of Sphinx was laid upon an ass; for there is
 “ nothing so subtle and abstruse, but after being made plain, may
 “ be conceived by the slowest capacity.” According to such la-
 titude of interpretation, there is nothing more easy than to make
quidlibet ex quolibet.

“ Who

“ origin. But whoever attentively considers the thing, will find,
“ that these fables are delivered down by those writers, not as
“ matters then first invented, but as received and embraced in
“ earlier ages. And this principally raises my esteem of those
“ fables ; which I receive, not as the product of the age, or in-
“ vention of the poets, but as sacred relics, gentle whispers, and
“ the breath of better times, that from the traditions of more
“ ancient nations, came at length into the flutes and trumpets
“ of the Greeks.” Was it our author’s real opinion, that the far-
ther back we trace the history of man, the more of science and
knowledge is found ; and consequently that savages are the most
learned of all men ?

The following fable of the savage Canadians ought to be myste-
rious, if either of the reasons urged above be conclusive. “ There
“ were in the beginning but six men in the world, (from whence
“ sprung is not said) : one of these ascended to heaven in quest of
“ a woman named *Atahentfic*, and had carnal knowledge of her.
“ She being thrown headlong from the height of the empyrean,
“ was received on the back of a tortoise, and delivered of two
“ children, one of whom slew the other.” This fable is so ab-
surd, that it must have a latent meaning ; and one needs but co-
py our author to pump a deep mystery out of it, however little
intended by the inventor of the fable. And if either absurdity or
antiquity entitle fables to be held sacred relics, gentle whispers,
and the breath of better times, the following Japanese fables are
well entitled to these distinguishing epithets. “ Bunfio, in wedlock,
having had no children for many years, addressed her prayers to
the gods, was heard, and was delivered of 500 eggs. Fearing
that the eggs might produce monsters, she packed them up in a
box, and threw them into the river. An old fisherman finding
the box, hatched the eggs in an oven, every one of which produ-
ced a child. The children were fed with boiled rice and mugwort-
leaves ;

understanding is in a progress toward maturity, however slow. The fancy of allegorizing ancient fables, is now out of fashion: enlightened reason has unmasked these fables, and left them in their nakedness, as the invention of illiterate ages, when wonder was the prevailing passion.

Having discussed the first two heads, I proceed to the third, viz. Erroneous reasoning, occasioned by acquired biases. And one of these that has the greatest influence in perverting the rational faculty, is blind religious zeal. There is not in nature a system more simple or perspicuous than that of pure religion; and yet what a composition hath it been rendered of metaphysical subtleties, and unintelligible jargon! That subject being too well known to need illustration, I shall confine myself to a few instances of the influence that religious superstition has on other subjects.

A history-painter and a player require the same sort of genius. The one by colours, the other by looks and gestures, expresses various modifications of passion, even what are beyond the reach of words; and to accomplish these ends, great sensibility is requisite, as well as judgement. Why then is not a player equally respected with a history-painter? It was thought by zealots, that a play is an entertainment too splendid for a mortified Christian; upon which account players fell under church-censure, and were held unworthy of Christian burial. A history-painter, on the contrary, being employ'd in painting for the church, was always in high esteem. It is only among Protestants that players are beginning to be restored to their privileges as free citizens; and there perhaps never existed a history-painter more justly esteemed, than Garrick, a player, is in Great Britain. Aristarchus having taught, that the earth moves round the sun, was accused by the Heathen priests, for troubling the repose of their household-gods. Copernicus, for the same doctrine, was accused by Christian priests, as contradicting the

stration for every thing: even a self-evident proposition is not suffered to escape. These superfluous proofs occur more than once in the Elements of Euclid. Nor has Aristotle, with all his skill in logics, entirely avoided them. Can any thing be more self-evident, than the difference between pleasure and motion? Yet Aristotle attempts to demonstrate, that they are different. "No motion," says he, "except circular motion, is perfect in any one point of time: there is always something wanting during its course, and it is not perfected till it arrive at its end. But pleasure is perfect in every point of time; being the same from the beginning to the end." The difference is clear from perception merely; but is far from being clear from this demonstration. Plato also attempts to demonstrate a self-evident proposition, viz. That a quality is not a body. "Every body," says he, "is a subject: quality is not a subject, but an accident; ergo, quality is not a body. Again, A body cannot be in a subject: every quality is in a subject; ergo, quality is not a body." But Descartes affords the most illustrious instance of the kind. He was the greatest geometer of the age he lived in, and one of the greatest of any age; which insensibly led him to overlook intuitive knowledge, and to admit no proposition but what is demonstrated or proved in the regular form of syllogism. He took a fancy to doubt even of his own existence, till he was convinced of it by the following argument. *Cogito, ergo sum: I think, therefore I exist.* And what sort of a demonstration is this after all? In the very fundamental proposition he acknowledges his existence by the term *I*; and how absurd is it, to imagine a proof necessary of what is admitted to be true in the fundamental proposition? In the next place, How does our author know that he thinks? If nothing is to be taken for granted, an argument is no less necessary to prove that he thinks, than to prove that he exists. It is true, that he has intuitive knowledge of his thinking; but has he not the same of his

his existing? Would not a man deserve to be laughed at, who, after warming himself at a fire, should imagine the following argument necessary to prove its existence, "The fire burns, *ergo* it exists?" Listen to an author of high reputation attempting to demonstrate a self-evident proposition. "The *labour* of B, cannot be the labour of C; because it is the application of the organs and powers of B, not of C, to the effecting of something; and therefore the labour is as much B's, as the *limbs* and *faculties* made use of are his. Again, the *effect* or *produce* of the labour of B, is not the effect of the labour of C: and therefore this effect or produce is B's, not C's; as much B's, as the *labour* was B's, and not C's: Because, what the labour of B causes or produces, B produces by his labour; or it is the product of B by his labour: that is, it is B's product, not C's, or any other's. And if C should pretend to any *property* in that which B can truly call *his*, he would act contrary to truth (a)."

In every subject of reasoning, to define terms is necessary in order to avoid mistakes. But there must be words that admit not of a definition, otherwise definitions would follow definitions without end: and such words are what signify simple ideas, which have no parts nor composition. The habit however of defining is so inveterate in some men, as to make them attempt to define words signifying simple ideas. Is there any necessity to define motion: do not children understand the meaning of the word? And how is it possible to define it, when there are not words more simple to define it by? Yet Worcester (b) attempts that bold task. "A continual change of place," says he, "or leaving one place for another, without remaining for any space of time in the same place, is called *motion*." That every body

(a) Religion of Nature delineated, sect. 6. paragr. 2.

(b) Natural Philosophy, p. 31.

in motion is continually changing place, is true: but change of place is not motion; it is the effect of motion. Gravefend (a) defines motion thus, "Motus est translatio de loco in locum, five continua loci mutatio *;" which is the same with the former. Yet this very author admits *locus* or *place* to signify a simple idea, incapable of a definition. Is it more simple or more intelligible than motion? But, of all, the most remarkable definition of motion is that of Aristotle, famous for its impenetrability, or rather absurdity, viz. "Actus entis in potentia, quatenus in potentia †."

Extension enters into the conception of every particle of matter; because every particle of matter has length, breadth, and thickness. Figure in the same manner enters into the conception of every particle of matter; because every particle of matter is bounded. By the power of abstraction, figure may be conceived independent of the body that is figured; and extension may be conceived independent of the body that is extended. These particulars are abundantly plain and obvious; and yet observe what a heap of jargon is employ'd by the followers of Leibnitz, in their fruitless endeavours to define extension. In order to that end, they begin with *simple existences*, which they say are unextended, and without parts. According to that definition, simple existences cannot belong to matter, because the smallest particle of matter has both parts and extension. But to let that pass, they endeavour to show as follows, how the idea of extension arises from these simple existences. "We may look upon simple existences, as having mutual

(a) Elements of Physics, p. 28.

* "Motion is, the removing from one place to another, or a continual change of place."

† "The action of a being in power, so far as it is in power."

"relations

“ of curiosity than wisdom, and that rather it would breed scorn
“ in the Atheist, than bring profit to the godly reader. For is the
“ kingdom of God become words or syllables? Why should we
“ be in bondage to them, if we may be free; use one precisely,
“ when we may use another, no less fit, as commodiously? We
“ might also be charged by scoffers, with some unequal dealing
“ toward a great number of good English words. For as it is
“ written by a certain great philosopher, that he should say, that
“ those logs were happy that were made images to be worship-
“ ped; for their fellows, as good as they, lay for blocks behind
“ the fire: so if we should say, as it were, unto certain words,
“ Stand up higher, have a place in the Bible always; and to o-
“ thers of like quality, Get ye hence, be banished for ever, we
“ might be taxed peradventure with St James his words, name-
“ ly, to be partial in ourselves, and judges of evil thoughts.”
Queritur, Can this translation be safely rely'd on, as the rule of
faith, when such are the translators?

A P P E N D I X.

IN reviewing the foregoing sketch, it occurred, that a fair analysis of Aristotle's logics, would be a valuable addition to the historical branch. A distinct and candid account of a system that for many ages governed the reasoning part of mankind, cannot but be acceptable to the public. Curiosity will be gratified, in seeing a phantom delineated, that so long fascinated the learned world; a phantom, which, like the pyramids of Egypt, or hanging gardens of Babylon, is a structure of infinite genius, but absolutely useless, unless for raising wonder. Dr Reid, professor of moral philosophy in the college of Glasgow, relished the thought; and his friendship to me prevailed on him, after much solicitation, to undertake the laborious task. No man is better acquainted with Aristotle's writings; and, without any enthusiastic attachment, he holds that philosopher to be a first-rate genius.

The logics of Aristotle have been on the decline more than a century; and are at present relegated to schools and colleges. They have occasionally been criticised by different writers; but this is the first attempt to draw them out of their obscurity into day-light. By what follows, one will be enabled to pass a true judgement on them, and to determine, whether they ought, or ought not, to make a branch of education. The Doctor's essay, as a capital article in the progress and history of the sciences, will, I hope, be made welcome, even with the fatigue of squeezing through many thorny paths, before a proper view can be obtained of that ancient and stupendous fabric.

It

It will at the same time show the hurt that Aristotle has done to the reasoning faculty, by drawing it out of its natural course into devious paths. His artificial mode of reasoning, is no less superficial than intricate. I say, superficial; for in none of his logical works, is a single truth attempted to be proved by syllogism that requires a proof: the propositions he undertakes to prove by syllogism, are all of them self-evident. Take for instance the following proposition, That man has a power of self-motion. To prove this, he assumes the following axiom, upon which indeed every one of his syllogisms are founded, viz. That whatever is true of a number of particulars joined together, holds true of every one separately; which is thus expressed in logical terms, Whatever is true of the genus, holds true of every species. Founding upon that axiom, he reasons thus: "All animals have a power of self-motion: man is an animal: *ergo*, man has a power of self-motion." Now if all animals have a power of self-motion, it requires no argument to prove, that man, an animal, has that power: and therefore, what he gives as a conclusion or consequence, is not really so; it is not *inferred* from the fundamental proposition, but is *included* in it. At the same time, the self-motive power of man, is a fact that cannot be known but from experience. I add, that the self-motive power of man, is more clearly ascertained by experience, than that of any other animal: and in attempting to prove man to be a self-motive animal, is it not absurd, to found the argument on a proposition less certain than that undertaken to be demonstrated? What is here observed, will be found applicable to the bulk, if not the whole, of his syllogisms.

It appears singular, that Aristotle himself never attempts to apply his syllogistic mode of reasoning, to any subject handled by him: on ethics, on rhetoric, and on poetry, he argues like a rational being, without once putting in practice any of his own rules.

But

But how is it possible, that a man of his capacity could long remain ignorant, how insufficient a syllogism is for discovering any latent truth? He certainly intended his system of logics, chiefly, if not solely, for disputation: and if such was his purpose, he has been wonderfully successful; for nothing can be better contrived than that system, for wrangling and disputing without end. He indeed in a manner professes this to be his aim, in his books *De Sophisticis elenchis*.

Some ages hence, when the goodly fabric of the Romish spiritual power shall be laid low in the dust, and scarce a vestige remain, it will among antiquaries be a curious enquiry, What was the nature and extent of a tyranny, more oppressive to the minds of men, than the tyranny of ancient Rome was to their persons. During every step of the enquiry, posterity will rejoice over mental liberty, no less precious in their eyes than personal liberty. The despotism of Aristotle with respect to the faculty of reason, was no less complete, than that of the Bishop of Rome with respect to religion; and it has now become a proper subject of curiosity, to enquire into the nature and extent of that despotism, from which men are at last set happily free. One cannot peruse the following sheets, without sympathetic pain for the weakness of man with respect to his noblest faculty; but that pain will redouble his satisfaction, in now being left free to the dictates of reason and common sense.

In my reveries, I have more than once compared Aristotle's logics to a bubble made of soap-water for amusing children; a beautiful figure with splendid colours; fair on the outside, empty within. It has for more than two thousand years been the hard fate of Aristotle's followers, Ixion like, to embrace a cloud for a goddess.—But this is more than sufficient for a preface: and I had almost forgot, that I am detaining my readers from better entertainment, in listening to Dr Reid.

A

A Brief Account of ARISTOTLE'S LOGIC.
With REMARKS.

C H A P. I.

Of the First Three Treatises.

SECT. I. *Of the Author.*

Aristotle had very uncommon advantages: born in an age when the philosophical spirit in Greece had long flourished, and was in its greatest vigour; brought up in the court of Macedonia, where his father was the King's physician; twenty years a favourite scholar of Plato, and tutor to Alexander the Great; who both honoured him with his friendship, and supplied him with every thing necessary for the prosecution of his enquiries.

These advantages he improved by indefatigable study, and immense reading. He was the first we know, says Strabo, who composed a library. And in this the Egyptian and Pergamene kings, copied his example. As to his genius, it would be disrespectful to mankind, not to allow an uncommon share to a man who governed the opinions of the most enlightened part of the species near two thousand years.

If his talents had been laid out solely for the discovery of truth, and the good of mankind, his laurels would have remained for ever fresh: but he seems to have had a greater passion for fame
than

than for truth, and to have wanted rather to be admired as the prince of philosophers, than to be useful: so that it is dubious whether there be in his character most of the philosopher, or of the sophist. The opinion of Lord Bacon is not without probability, That his ambition was as boundless as that of his royal pupil, the one aspiring at universal monarchy over the bodies and fortunes of men, the other over their opinions. If this was the case, it cannot be said, that the philosopher pursued his aim with less industry, less ability, or less success, than the hero.

His writings carry too evident marks of that philosophical pride, vanity, and envy, which have often sullied the character of the learned. He determines boldly things above all human knowledge; and enters upon the most difficult questions, as his pupil entered on a battle, with full assurance of success. He delivers his decisions oracularly, and without any fear of mistake. Rather than confess his ignorance, he hides it under hard words and ambiguous expressions, of which his interpreters can make what pleases them. There is even reason to suspect, that he wrote often with affected obscurity, either that the air of mystery might procure greater veneration, or that his books might be understood only by the adepts who had been initiated in his philosophy.

His conduct towards the writers that went before him has been much censured. After the manner of the Ottoman princes, says Lord Verulam, he thought his throne could not be secure unless he killed all his brethren. Ludovicus Vives charges him with detracting from all philosophers, that he might derive that glory to himself, of which he robbed them. He rarely quotes an author but with a view to censure, and is not very fair in representing the opinions which he censures.

The faults we have mentioned are such as might be expected in a man, who had the daring ambition to be transmitted to all future ages, as the prince of philosophers, as one who had carried

every branch of human knowledge to its utmost limit ; and who was not very scrupulous about the means he took to obtain his end.

We ought, however, to do him the justice to observe, that although the pride and vanity of the sophist appear too much in his writings in abstract philosophy, yet in natural history the fidelity of his narrations seems to be equal to his industry ; and he always distinguishes between what he knew and what he had by report. And even in abstract philosophy, it would be unfair to impute to Aristotle all the faults, all the obscurities, and all the contradictions that are to be found in his writings. The greatest part, and perhaps the best part, of his writings is lost. There is reason to doubt whether some of those we ascribe to him be really his ; and whether what are his be not much vitiated and interpolated. These suspicions are justified by the fate of Aristotle's writings, which is judiciously related, from the best authorities, in Bayle's dictionary, under the article *Tyrannion*, to which I refer.

His books in logic which remain, are, 1. One book of the Categories. 2. One of Interpretation. 3. First Analytics, two books. 4. Last Analytics, two books. 5. Topics, eight books. 6. Of Sophisms, one book. Diogenes Laertius mentions many others that are lost. Those I have mentioned have commonly been published together, under the name of *Aristotle's Organon*, or *his Logic* ; and for many ages, Porphyry's Introduction to the Categories has been prefixed to them.

SECT. 2. *Of Porphyry's Introduction.*

In this Introduction, which is addressed to Chrysoarius, the author observes, That in order to understand Aristotle's doctrine concerning the categories, it is necessary to know what a *genus* is,

is, what a *species*, what a *specific difference*, what a *property*, and what an *accident*; that the knowledge of these is also very useful in definition, in division, and even in demonstration: therefore he proposes, in this little tract, to deliver shortly and simply the doctrine of the ancients, and chiefly of the Peripatetics, concerning these five *predicables*; avoiding the more intricate questions concerning them; such as, Whether *genera* and *species* do really exist in nature? or, Whether they are only conceptions of the human mind? If they exist in nature, Whether they are corporeal or incorporeal? and, Whether they are inherent in the objects of sense, or disjoined from them? These, he says, are very difficult questions, and require accurate discussion; but that he is not to meddle with them.

After this preface, he explains very minutely each of the five words above mentioned, divides and subdivides each of them, and then pursues all the agreements and differences between one and another through sixteen chapters.

SECT. 3. *Of the Categories.*

The book begins with an explication of what is meant by univocal words, what by equivocal, and what by denominative. Then it is observed, that what we say is either simple, without composition or structure, as *man*, *horse*; or, it has composition and structure, as, *a man fights*, *the horse runs*. Next comes a distinction between a subject of predication; that is, a subject of which any thing is affirmed or denied, and a subject of inherence. These things are said to be inherent in a subject, which although they are not a part of the subject, cannot possibly exist without it, as figure in the thing figured. Of things that are, says Aristotle, some may be predicated of a subject, but are in no subject; as,

man may be predicated of James or John, but is not in any subject. Some again are in a subject, but can be predicated of no subject. Thus, my knowledge in grammar is in me as its subject, but it can be predicated of no subject; because it is an individual thing. Some are both in a subject, and may be predicated of a subject, as science; which is in the mind as its subject, and may be predicated of geometry. Lastly, Some things can neither be in a subject, nor be predicated of any subject. Such are all individual substances, which cannot be predicated, because they are individuals; and cannot be in a subject, because they are substances. After some other subtilties about predicates and subjects, we come to the categories themselves; the things above mentioned being called by the schoolmen the *antepredicamenta*. It may be observed, however, that notwithstanding the distinction now explained, the *being in a subject*, and the *being predicated truly of a subject*, are in the Analytics used as synonymous phrases; and this variation of style has led some persons to think that the Categories were not wrote by Aristotle.

Things which may be expressed without composition or structure, are, says the author, reducible to the following heads. They are either *substance*, or *quantity*, or *quality*, or *relatives*, or *place*, or *time*, or *having*, or *doing*, or *suffering*. These are the predicaments or categories. The first four are largely treated of in four chapters; the others are slightly passed over, as sufficiently clear of themselves. As a specimen, I shall give a summary of what he says on the category of substance.

Substances are either primary, to wit, individual substances, or secondary, to wit, the genera and species of substances. Primary substances neither are in a subject, nor can be predicated of a subject; but all other things that exist, either are in primary substances, or may be predicated of them. For whatever can be predicated of that which is in a subject, may also be predicated of the
subject

subject itself. Primary substances are more substances than the secondary; and of the secondary, the species is more a substance than the genus. If there were no primary, there could be no secondary substances.

The properties of substance are these: 1. No substance is capable of intension or remission. 2. No substance can be in any other thing as its subject of inherence. 3. No substance has a contrary; for one substance cannot be contrary to another; nor can there be contrariety between a substance and that which is no substance. 4. The most remarkable property of substance, is, that one and the same substance may, by some change in itself, become the subject of things that are contrary. Thus, the same body may be at one time hot, at another cold.

Let this serve as a specimen of Aristotle's manner of treating the categories. After them, we have some chapters, which the schoolmen call *postpradicamenta*; wherein, first, the four kinds of opposition of terms are explained; to wit, *relative*, *privative*, of *contrariety*, and of *contradiction*. This is repeated in all systems of logic. Last of all we have distinctions of the four Greek words which answer to the Latin ones, *prius*, *simul*, *motus*, and *habere*.

SECT. 4. *Of the book concerning Interpretation.*

We are to consider, says Aristotle, what a noun is, what a verb, what affirmation, what negation, what speech. Words are the signs of what passeth in the mind; writing is the sign of words. The signs both of writing and of words are different in different nations, but the operations of mind signified by them are the same. There are some operations of thought which are neither true nor false. These are expressed by nouns or verbs singly, and without composition.

A

A noun is a sound which by compact signifies something without respect to time, and of which no part has signification by itself. The cries of beasts may have a natural signification, but they are not nouns. We give that name only to sounds which have their signification by compact. The cases of a noun, as the genitive, dative, are not nouns. *Non homo* is not a noun, but, for distinction's sake, may be called a *nomen infinitum*.

A verb signifies something by compact with relation to time. Thus, *valet* is a verb; but *valetudo* is a noun, because its signification has no relation to time. It is only the present tense of the indicative that is properly called a verb; the other tenses and moods are variations of the verb. *Non valet* may be called a *verbum infinitum*.

Speech is sound significant by compact, of which some part is also significant. And it is either enunciative, or not enunciative. Enunciative speech is that which affirms or denies. As to speech which is not enunciative, such as a prayer or wish, the consideration of it belongs to oratory, or poetry. Every enunciative speech must have a verb, or some variation of a verb. Affirmation is the enunciation of one thing concerning another. Negation is the enunciation of one thing from another. Contradiction is an affirmation and negation that are opposite. This is a summary of the first six chapters.

The seventh and eighth treat of the various kinds of enunciations or propositions, universal, particular, indefinite, and singular; and of the various kinds of opposition in propositions, and the axioms concerning them. These things are repeated in every system of logic. In the ninth chapter he endeavours to prove, by a long metaphysical reasoning, that propositions respecting future contingencies are not, determinately, either true or false; and that if they were, it would follow, that all things happen necessarily,

farily, and could not have been otherwise than as they are. The remaining chapters contain many minute observations concerning the equipollency of propositions both pure and modal.

C H A P. II.

Remarks.

SECT. I. *On the Five Predicables.*

THE writers on logic have borrowed their materials almost entirely from Aristotle's *Organon*, and Porphyry's *Introduction*. The *Organon* however was not wrote by Aristotle as one work. It comprehends various tracts, wrote without the view of making them parts of one whole, and afterwards thrown together by his editors under one name on account of their affinity. Many of his books that are lost would have made a part of the *Organon*, if they had been saved.

The three treatises of which we have given a brief account, are unconnected with each other, and with those that follow. And although the first was undoubtedly compiled by Porphyry, and the two last probably by Aristotle, yet I consider them as the venerable remains of a philosophy more ancient than Aristotle. Archytas of Tarentum, an eminent mathematician and philosopher of the Pythagorean school, is said to have wrote upon the ten categories. And the five predicables probably had their origin in the same school. Aristotle, tho' abundantly careful to do justice to himself, does not claim the invention of either. And Porphyry, without

without ascribing the latter to Aristotle, professes only to deliver the doctrine of the ancients, and chiefly of the Peripatetics, concerning them.

The writers on logic having divided that science into three parts; the first treating of simple apprehension, and of terms; the second, of judgement, and of propositions; and the third, of reasoning, and of syllogisms. The materials of the first part are taken from Porphyry's Introduction, and the Categories; and those of the second from the book of Interpretation.

A predicable, according to the grammatical form of the word, might seem to signify, whatever may be predicated, that is, affirmed or denied, of some subject. And in this sense every predicate would be a predicable. But the logicians give a different meaning to the word. They divide propositions into certain classes, according to the relation which the predicate of the proposition bears to the subject. The first class is that wherein the predicate is the *genus* of the subject; as when we say, *This is a triangle, Jupiter is a planet*. In the second class, the predicate is a *species* of the subject; as when we say, *This triangle is right-angled*. A third class is when the predicate is the specific difference of the subject; as when we say, *Every triangle has three sides and three angles*. A fourth when the predicate is a property of the subject; as when we say, *The angles of every triangle are equal to two right angles*. And a fifth class is when the predicate is something accidental to the subject; as when we say, *This triangle is neatly drawn*.

Each of these classes comprehends a great variety of propositions, having different subjects, and different predicates; but in each class the relation between the predicate and the subject is the same. Now it is to this relation that logicians have given the name of *a predicable*. Hence it is, that altho' the number of predicates be infinite, yet the number of predicables can be no greater than
that

low any imperfection in this ancient division, he endeavours to restrain the meaning of the word *predicable*, so as to obviate objections. Those things only, says he, are to be accounted predicables, which may be affirmed of *many individuals, truly, properly, and immediately*. The consequence of putting such limitations upon the word *predicable* is, that in many propositions, perhaps in most, the predicate is not a predicable. But admitting all his limitations, the enumeration will still be very incomplete: for of many things we may affirm truly, properly, and immediately, their existence, their end, their cause, their effect, and various relations which they bear to other things. These, and perhaps many more, are predicables in the strict sense of the word, no less than the five which have been so long famous.

Altho' Porphyry, and all subsequent writers, make the predicables to be, in number, five; yet Aristotle himself, in the beginning of the Topics, reduces them to four; and demonstrates, that they can be no more. We shall give his demonstration when we come to the Topics; and shall only here observe, that as Burgerfick justifies the fivefold division, by restraining the meaning of the word *predicable*; so Aristotle justifies the fourfold division, by enlarging the meaning of the words *property* and *accident*.

After all, I apprehend, that this ancient division of predicables, with all its imperfections, will bear a comparison with those which have been substituted in its stead by the most celebrated modern philosophers.

Locke, in his Essay on the Human Understanding, having laid it down as a principle, That all our knowledge consists in perceiving certain agreements and disagreements between our ideas, reduces these agreements and disagreements to four heads: to wit, 1. Identity and Diversity; 2. Relation; 3. Coexistence; 4. Real Existence (*a*). Here are four predicables given as a complete e-

(*a*) Book 4. chap. 1.

numeration,

of every thing which can be either the subject or the predicate of a proposition. So that as every foldier belongs to some company, and every company to some regiment ; in like manner every thing that can be the object of human thought, has its place in one or other of the ten categories ; and by dividing and subdividing properly the several categories, all the notions that enter into the human mind may be mustered in rank and file, like an army in the day of battle.

The perfection of the division of categories into ten heads, has been strenuously defended by the followers of Aristotle, as well as that of the five predicables. They are indeed of kin to each other. They breathe the same spirit, and probably had the same origin. By the one we are taught to marshal every term that can enter into a proposition, either as subject or predicate ; and by the other, we are taught all the possible relations which the subject can have to the predicate. Thus, the whole furniture of the human mind is presented to us at one view, and contracted, as it were, into a nut-shell. To attempt, in so early a period, a methodical delineation of the vast region of human knowledge, actual and possible, and to point out the limits of every district, was indeed magnanimous in a high degree, and deserves our admiration, while we lament that the human powers are unequal to so bold a flight.

A regular distribution of things under proper classes or heads, is, without doubt, a great help both to memory and judgement. And as the philosopher's province includes all things human and divine that can be objects of enquiry, he is naturally led to attempt some general division, like that of the categories. And the invention of a division of this kind, which the speculative part of mankind acquiesced in for two thousand years, marks a superiority of genius in the inventor, whoever he was. Nor does it appear, that the general divisions which, since the decline of the Peripatetic

tic philosophy, have been substituted in place of the ten categories, are more perfect.

Locke has reduced all things to three categories; to wit, substances, modes, and relations. In this division, time, space, and number, three great objects of human thought, are omitted.

The author of the Treatise of Human Nature has reduced all things to two categories; to wit, ideas, and impressions: a division which is very well adapted to his system; and which puts me in mind of another made by an excellent mathematician in a printed thesis I have seen. In it the author, after a severe censure of the ten categories of the Peripatetics, maintains, that there neither are nor can be more than two categories of things; to wit, *data*, and *quesita*.

There are two ends that may be proposed by such divisions. The first is, to methodize or digest in order what a man actually knows. This is neither unimportant nor impracticable; and in proportion to the solidity and accuracy of a man's judgement, his divisions of things which he knows, will be elegant and useful. The same subject may admit, and even require, various divisions, according to the different points of view from which we contemplate it: nor does it follow, that because one division is good, therefore another is naught. To be acquainted with the divisions of the logicians and metaphysicians, without a superstitious attachment to them, may be of use in dividing the same subjects, or even those of a different nature. Thus, Quintilian borrows from the ten categories his division of the topics of rhetorical argumentation. Of all methods of arrangement, the most antiphilosophical seems to be the invention of this age; I mean, the arranging the arts and sciences by the letters of the alphabet, in dictionaries and encyclopedies. With these authors the categories are, A, B, C, &c.

Another end commonly proposed by such divisions, but very rarely

rarely attained, is, to exhaust the subject divided ; so that nothing that belongs to it shall be omitted. It is one of the general rules of division in all systems of logic, That the division should be adequate to the subject divided: a good rule, without doubt; but very often beyond the reach of human power. To make a perfect division, a man must have a perfect comprehension of the whole subject at one view. When our knowledge of the subject is imperfect, any division we can make of it, must be like the first sketch of a painter, to be extended, contracted, or mended, as the subject shall be found to require. Yet nothing is more common, not only among the ancient, but even among modern philosophers, than to draw, from their incomplete divisions, conclusions which suppose them to be perfect.

A division is a repository which the philosopher frames for holding his ware in convenient order. The philosopher maintains, that such or such a thing is not good ware, because there is no place in his ware-room that fits it. We are apt to yield to this argument in philosophy, but it would appear ridiculous in any other traffic.

Peter Ramus, who had the spirit of a reformer in philosophy, and who had a force of genius sufficient to shake the Aristotelian fabric in many parts, but insufficient to erect any thing more solid in its place, tried to remedy the imperfection of philosophical divisions, by introducing a new manner of dividing. His divisions always consisted of two members, one of which was contradictory of the other; as if one should divide England into Middlesex and what is not Middlesex. It is evident that these two members comprehend all England: for the logicians observe, that a term, along with its contradictory, comprehend all things. In the same manner, we may divide what is not Middlesex into Kent and what is not Kent. Thus one may go on by divisions and subdivisions that are absolutely complete. This example may
serve

serve to give an idea of the spirit of Ramean divisions, which were in no small reputation about two hundred years ago.

Aristotle was not ignorant of this kind of division. But he used it only as a touchstone to prove by induction the perfection of some other division, which indeed is the best use that can be made of it; when applied to the common purpose of division, it is both inelegant, and burdensome to the memory; and, after it has put one out of breath by endless subdivisions, there is still a negative term left behind, which shows that you are no nearer the end of your journey than when you began.

Until some more effectual remedy be found for the imperfection of divisions, I beg leave to propose one more simple than that of Ramus. It is this: When you meet with a division of any subject imperfectly comprehended, add to the last member an *et cetera*. That this *et cetera* makes the division complete, is undeniable; and therefore it ought to hold its place as a member, and to be always understood, whether expressed or not, until clear and positive proof be brought, that the division is complete without it. And this same *et cetera* shall be the repository of all members that shall in any future time shew a good and valid right to a property in the subject.

SECT. 3. *On Distinctions.*

Having said so much of logical divisions, we shall next make some remarks upon distinctions.

Since the philosophy of Aristotle fell into disrepute, it has been a common topic of wit and raillery, to enveigh against metaphysical distinctions. Indeed the abuse of them in the scholastic ages, seems to justify a general prejudice against them: and shallow thinkers and writers have good reason to be jealous of distinctions,

tinctions, because they make sad work when applied to their flimsy compositions. But every man of true judgement, while he condemns distinctions that have no foundation in the nature of things, must perceive, that indiscriminately to decry distinctions, is, to renounce all pretensions to just reasoning: for as false reasoning commonly proceeds from confounding things that are different, so without distinguishing such things, it is impossible to avoid error, or detect sophistry. The authority of Aquinas, or Suarez, or even of Aristotle, can neither stamp a real value upon distinctions of base metal, nor ought it to hinder the currency of those that have intrinsic value.

Some distinctions are verbal, others are real. The first kind distinguish the various meanings of a word; some of which may be proper, others metaphorical. Distinctions of this kind make a part of the grammar of a language, and are often absurd when translated into another language. Real distinctions are equally good in all languages, and suffer no hurt by translation. They distinguish the different species contained under some general notion, or the different parts contained in one whole.

Many of Aristotle's distinctions are verbal merely; and therefore more proper materials for a dictionary of the Greek language than for a philosophical treatise. At least, they ought never to have been translated into other languages, when the idiom of the language will not justify them: for this is to adulterate the language, to introduce foreign idioms into it without necessity or use, and to make it ambiguous where it was not. The distinctions in the end of the Categories of the four words *prius*, *simul*, *motus*, and *habere*, are all verbal.

The modes or species of *prius*, according to Aristotle, are five. One thing may be prior to another; first, in point of time; secondly, in point of dignity; thirdly, in point of order; and so forth. The modes of *simul* are only three. It seems this word was
not

not used in the Greek with so great latitude as the other, although they are relative terms.

The modes or species of motion he makes to be six, to wit, generation, corruption, increase, decrease, alteration, and change of place.

The modes or species of *having* are eight. 1. Having a quality or habit, as having wisdom. 2. Having quantity or magnitude. 3. Having things adjacent, as having a sword. 4. Having things as parts, as having hands or feet. 5. Having in a part or on a part, as having a ring on one's finger. 6. Containing, as a cask is said to have wine. 7. Possessing, as having lands or houses. 8. Having a wife.

Another distinction of this kind is Aristotle's distinction of causes; of which he makes four kinds, efficient, material, formal, and final. These distinctions may deserve a place in a dictionary of the Greek language; but in English or Latin they adulterate the language. Yet so fond were the schoolmen of distinctions of this kind, that they added to Aristotle's enumeration, an impulsive cause, an exemplary cause, and I don't know how many more. We seem to have adopted into English a final cause; but it is merely a term of art, borrowed from the Peripatetic philosophy, without necessity or use: for the English word *end* is as good as *final cause*, though not so long nor so learned.

SECT. 4. *On Definitions.*

It remains that we make some remarks on Aristotle's definitions, which have exposed him to much censure and ridicule. Yet I think it must be allowed, that in things which need definition, and admit of it, his definitions are commonly judicious and accurate; and had he attempted to define such things only, his ene-

inics had wanted great matter of triumph. I believe it may likewise be said in his favour, that until Locke's essay was wrote, there was nothing of importance delivered by philosophers with regard to definition, beyond what Aristotle has said upon that subject.

He considers a definition as a speech declaring what a thing is. Every thing essential to the thing defined, and nothing more, must be contained in the definition. Now the essence of a thing consists of these two parts: First, What is common to it with other things of the same kind; and, secondly, What distinguishes it from other things of the same kind. The first is called the *genus* of the thing, the second its *specific difference*. The definition therefore consists of these two parts. And for finding them, we must have recourse to the ten categories; in one or other of which every thing in nature is to be found. Each category is a *genus*, and is divided into so many species, which are distinguished by their specific differences. Each of these species is again subdivided into so many species, with regard to which it is a genus. This division and subdivision continues until we come to the lowest species, which can only be divided into individuals, distinguished from one another, not by any specific difference, but by accidental differences of time, place, and other circumstances.

The category itself being the highest genus, is in no respect a species, and the lowest *species* is in no respect a *genus*; but every intermediate order is a genus compared with those that are below it, and a species compared with those above it. To find the definition of any thing, therefore, you must take the genus which is immediately above its place in the category, and the specific difference, by which it is distinguished from other species of the same genus. These two make a perfect definition. This I take to be the substance of Aristotle's system; and probably the system of the Pythagorean school before Aristotle, concerning definition.

But

But notwithstanding the specious appearance of this system, it has its defects. Not to repeat what was before said, of the imperfection of the division of things into ten categories, the subdivisions of each category are no less imperfect. Aristotle has given some subdivisions of a few of them; and as far as he goes, his followers pretty unanimously take the same road. But when they attempt to go farther, they take very different roads. It is evident, that if the series of each category could be completed, and the division of things into categories could be made perfect, still the highest genus in each category could not be defined, because it is not a species; nor could individuals be defined, because they have no specific difference. There are also many species of things, whose specific difference cannot be expressed in language, even when it is evident to sense, or to the understanding. Thus, green, red, and blue, are very distinct species of colour; but who can express in words wherein green differs from red or blue?

Without borrowing light from the ancient system, we may perceive, that every definition must consist of words that need no definition; and that to define the common words of a language that have no ambiguity, is trifling, if it could be done; the only use of a definition being to give a clear and adequate conception of the meaning of a word.

The logicians indeed distinguish between the definition of a word, and the definition of a thing; considering the former as the mean office of a lexicographer, but the last as the grand work of a philosopher. But what they have said about the definition of a thing, if it has a meaning, is beyond my comprehension. All the rules of definition agree to the definition of a word: and if they mean by the definition of a thing, the giving an adequate conception of the nature and essence of any thing that exists; this is impossible, and is the vain boast of men unconscious of the weakness of human understanding.

The works of God are all imperfectly known by us. We see their outside, or perhaps we discover some of their qualities and relations, by observation and experiment, assisted by reasoning; but we can give no definition of the meanest of them which comprehends its real essence. It is justly observed by Locke, that nominal essences only, which are the creatures of our own minds, are perfectly comprehended by us, or can be properly defined; and even of these there are many too simple in their nature to admit of definition. When we cannot give precision to our notions by a definition, we must endeavour to do it by attentive reflection upon them, by observing minutely their agreements and differences, and especially by a right understanding of the powers of our own minds by which such notions are formed.

The principles laid down by Locke with regard to definition, and with regard to the abuse of words, carry conviction along with them; and I take them to be one of the most important improvements made in logic since the days of Aristotle; not so much because they enlarge our knowledge, as because they make us sensible of our ignorance, and shew that a great part of what speculative men have admired as profound philosophy, is only a darkening of knowledge by words without understanding.

If Aristotle had understood those principles, many of his definitions, which furnish matter of triumph to his enemies, had never seen the light: let us impute them to the times rather than to the man. The sublime Plato, it is said, thought it necessary to have the definition of a man, and could find none better than *Animal implume bipes*; upon which Diogenes sent to his school a cock with his feathers plucked off, desiring to know whether it was a man or not.

SECT.

SECT. 5. *On the Structure of Speech.*

The few hints contained in the beginning of the book concerning Interpretation, relating to the structure of speech, have been left out in treatises of logic, as belonging rather to grammar; yet I apprehend this is a rich field of philosophical speculation. Language being the express image of human thought, the analysis of the one must correspond to that of the other. Nouns adjective and substantive, verbs active and passive, with their various moods, tenses, and persons, must be expressive of a like variety in the modes of thought. Things which are distinguished in all languages, such as substance and quality, action and passion, cause and effect, must be distinguished by the natural powers of the human mind. The philosophy of grammar, and that of the human understanding, are more nearly allied than is commonly imagined.

The structure of language was pursued to a considerable extent, by the ancient commentators upon this book of Aristotle. Their speculations upon this subject, which are neither the least ingenious nor the least useful part of the Peripatetic philosophy, were neglected for many ages, and lay buried in ancient manuscripts, or in books little known, till they were lately brought to light by the learned Mr Harris in his *Hermes*.

The definitions given by Aristotle, of a noun, of a verb, and of speech, will hardly bear examination. It is easy in practice to distinguish the various parts of speech; but very difficult, if at all possible, to give accurate definitions of them.

He observes justly, that besides that kind of speech called a *proposition*, which is always either true or false, there are other kinds which are neither true nor false; such as, a prayer, or wish; to
which

which we may add, a question, a command, a promise, a contract, and many others. These Aristotle pronounces to have nothing to do with his subject, and remits them to oratory, or poetry; and so they have remained banished from the regions of philosophy to this day: yet I apprehend, that an analysis of such speeches, and of the operations of mind which they express, would be of real use, and perhaps would discover how imperfect an enumeration the logicians have given of the powers of human understanding, when they reduce them to simple apprehension, judgement, and reasoning.

SECT. 6. *On Propositions.*

Mathematicians use the word *proposition* in a larger sense than logicians. A problem is called a *proposition* in mathematics, but in logic it is not a proposition: it is one of those speeches which are not enunciative, and which Aristotle remits to oratory or poetry.

A proposition, according to Aristotle, is a speech wherein one thing is affirmed or denied of another. Hence it is easy to distinguish the thing affirmed or denied, which is called *the predicate*, from the thing of which it is affirmed or denied, which is called *the subject*; and these two are called *the terms of the proposition*. Hence likewise it appears, that propositions are either affirmative or negative; and this is called *their quality*. All affirmative propositions have the same quality, so likewise have all the negative; but an affirmative and a negative are contrary in their quality.

When the subject of a proposition is a general term, the predicate is affirmed or denied, either of the whole, or of a part. Hence propositions are distinguished into universal and particular. *All men are mortal*, is an universal proposition; *Some men are learned*,

ed, is a particular, and this is called *the quantity of the proposition*. All universal propositions agree in quantity, as also all particular: while an universal and a particular are said to differ in quantity. A proposition is called *indefinite*, when there is no mark either of universality or particularity annexed to the subject: thus, *Man is of few days*, is an indefinite proposition; but it must be understood either as universal or as particular, and therefore is not a third species, but by interpretation is brought under one of the other two.

There are also singular propositions, which have not a general term but an individual for their subject; as, *Alexander was a great conqueror*. These are considered by logicians as universal, because, the subject being indivisible, the predicate is affirmed or denied of the whole, and not of a part only. Thus all propositions, with regard to quality, are either affirmative or negative; and with regard to quantity, are universal or particular; and taking in both quantity and quality, they are universal affirmatives, or universal negatives, or particular affirmatives, or particular negatives. These four kinds, after the days of Aristotle, came to be named by the names of the four first vowels, A, E, I, O, according to the following distich:

*Afferit A, negat E, sed universaliter ambo;
Afferit I, negat O, sed particulariter ambo.*

When the young logician is thus far instructed in the nature of propositions, he is apt to think there is no difficulty in analysing any proposition, and shewing its subject and predicate, its quantity and quality; and indeed, unless he can do this, he will be unable to apply the rules of logic to use. Yet he will find, there are some difficulties in this analysis, which are overlooked by Aristotle altogether; and altho' they are sometimes touched, they are not removed

removed by his followers. For, 1. There are propositions in which it is difficult to find a subject and a predicate ; as in these, *It rains, It snows.* 2. In some propositions either term may be made the subject or the predicate as you like best ; as in this, *Virtue is the road to happiness.* 3. The same example may serve to shew, that it is sometimes difficult to say, whether a proposition be universal or particular. 4. The quality of some propositions is so dubious, that logicians have never been able to agree whether they be affirmative or negative ; as in this proposition, *Whatever is insentient is not an animal.* 5. As there is one class of propositions which have only two terms, to wit, one subject and one predicate, which are called *categorical propositions* ; so there are many classes that have more than two terms. What Aristotle delivers in this book is applicable only to categorical propositions ; and to them only the rules concerning the conversion of propositions, and concerning the figures and modes of syllogisms, are accommodated. The subsequent writers of logic have taken notice of some of the many classes of complex propositions, and have given rules adapted to them ; but finding this work endless, they have left us to manage the rest by the rules of common sense.

C H A P

C H A P. III.

Account of the First Analytics.

SECT. I. *Of the Conversion of Propositions.*

IN attempting to give some account of the Analytics and of the Topics of Aristotle, ingenuity requires me to confess, that tho' I have often purposed to read the whole with care, and to understand what is intelligible, yet my courage and patience always failed before I had done. Why should I throw away so much time and painful attention upon a thing of so little real use? If I had lived in those ages when the knowledge of Aristotle's Organon intitled a man to the highest rank in philosophy, ambition might have induced me to employ upon it some years painful study; and less, I conceive, would not be sufficient. Such reflections as these, always got the better of my resolution, when the first ardor began to cool. All I can say is, that I have read some parts of the different books with care, some slightly, and some perhaps not at all. I have glanced over the whole often, and when any thing attracted my attention, have dipped into it till my appetite was satisfied. Of all reading it is the most dry and the most painful, employing an infinite labour of demonstration, about things of the most abstract nature, delivered in a laconic style, and often, I think, with affected obscurity; and all to prove general propositions, which when applied to particular instances appear self-evident.

There is probably but little in the Categories, or in the book of Interpretation, which Aristotle could claim as his own invention: but the whole theory of syllogisms he claims as his own, and as the fruit of much time and labour. And indeed it is a stately fabrick, a monument of a great genius, which we could wish to have been more usefully employed. There must be something however adapted to please the human understanding, or to flatter human pride, in a work which occupied men of speculation for more than a thousand years. These books are called *Analytics*, because the intention of them is to resolve all reasoning into its simple ingredients.

The first book of the First Analytics, consisting of forty-six chapters, may be divided into four parts; the first treating of the conversion of propositions; the second, of the structure of syllogisms in all the different figures and modes; the third, of the invention of a middle term; and the last, of the resolution of syllogisms. We shall give a brief account of each.

To convert a proposition, is to infer from it another proposition, whose subject is the predicate of the first, and whose predicate is the subject of the first. This is reduced by Aristotle to three rules. 1. An universal negative may be converted into an universal negative: thus, *No man is a quadruped*; therefore, *No quadruped is a man*. 2. An universal affirmative can be converted only into a particular affirmative: thus, *All men are mortal*; therefore, *Some mortal beings are men*. 3. A particular affirmative may be converted into a particular affirmative: as, *Some men are just*; therefore, *Some just persons are men*. When a proposition may be converted without changing its quantity, this is called *simple conversion*; but when the quantity is diminished, as in the universal affirmative, it is called conversion *per accidens*.

There is another kind of conversion, omitted in this place by Aristotle, but supplied by his followers, called *conversion by contraposition*,

position, in which the term which is contradictory to the predicate is put for the subject, and the quality of the proposition is changed; as, *All animals are sentient*; therefore, *What is insentient is not an animal*. A fourth rule of conversion therefore is, That an universal affirmative, and a particular negative, may be converted by contraposition.

SECT. 2. *Of the Figures and Modes of pure Syllogisms.*

A syllogism is an argument, or reasoning, consisting of three propositions, the last of which, called *the conclusion*, is inferred from the two preceding, which are called *the premises*. The conclusion having two terms, a subject and a predicate, its predicate is called the *major* term, and its subject the *minor* term. In order to prove the conclusion, each of its terms is in the premises compared with a third term, called the *middle* term. By this means one of the premises will have for its two terms the major term and the middle term; and this premise is called the *major* premise, or the *major* proposition of the syllogism. The other premise must have for its two terms the minor term and the middle term, and it is called the *minor* proposition. Thus the syllogism consists of three propositions, distinguished by the names of the *major*, the *minor*, and the *conclusion*: and altho' each of these has two terms, a subject and a predicate, yet there are only three different terms in all. The major term is always the predicate of the conclusion, and is also either the subject or predicate of the major proposition. The minor term is always the subject of the conclusion, and is also either the subject or predicate of the minor proposition. The middle term never enters into the conclusion, but stands in both premises, either in the position of subject or of predicate.

According to the various positions which the middle term may

have in the premises, fyllogisms are said to be of various figures. Now all the possible positions of the middle term are only four: for, first, it may be the subject of the major proposition, and the predicate of the minor, and then the fyllogism is of the first figure; or it may be the predicate of both premises, and then the fyllogism is of the second figure; or it may be the subject of both, which makes a fyllogism of the third figure; or it may be the predicate of the major proposition, and the subject of the minor, which makes the fourth figure. Aristotle takes no notice of the fourth figure. It was added by the famous Galen, and is often called *the Galenical figure*.

There is another division of fyllogisms according to their modes. The mode of a fyllogism is determined by the quality and quantity of the propositions of which it consists. Each of the three propositions must be either an universal affirmative, or an universal negative, or a particular affirmative, or a particular negative. These four kinds of propositions, as was before observed, have been named by the four vowels, A, E, I, O; by which means the mode of a fyllogism is marked by any three of those four vowels. Thus A, A, A, denotes that mode in which the major, minor, and conclusion, are all universal affirmatives; E, A, E, denotes that mode in which the major and conclusion are universal negatives, and the minor is an universal affirmative.

To know all the possible modes of fyllogism, we must find how many different combinations may be made of three out of the four vowels, and from the art of combination the number is found to be sixty-four. So many possible modes there are in every figure, consequently in the three figures of Aristotle there are one hundred and ninety-two, and in all the four figures two hundred and fifty-six.

Now the theory of fyllogism requires, that we shew what are the particular modes in each figure, which do, or do not, form a
just

only when it is the subject of an universal proposition, but when it is the predicate of a negative proposition; on the other hand, a term is said to be taken particularly, when it is either the subject of a particular, or the predicate of an affirmative proposition.

SECT. 3. *Of the Invention of a Middle Term.*

The third part of this book contains rules general and special for the invention of a middle term; and this the author conceives to be of great utility. The general rules amount to this, That you are to consider well both terms of the proposition to be proved; their definition, their properties, the things which may be affirmed or denied of them, and those of which they may be affirmed or denied: those things collected together, are the materials from which your middle term is to be taken.

The special rules require you to consider the quantity and quality of the proposition to be proved, that you may discover in what mode and figure of syllogism the proof is to proceed. Then from the materials before collected, you must seek a middle term which has that relation to the subject and predicate of the proposition to be proved, which the nature of the syllogism requires. Thus, suppose the proposition I would prove is an universal affirmative, I know by the rules of syllogisms, that there is only one legitimate mode in which an universal affirmative proposition can be proved; and that is the first mode of the first figure. I know likewise, that in this mode both the premises must be universal affirmatives; and that the middle term must be the subject of the major, and the predicate of the minor. Therefore of the terms collected according to the general rule, I seek out one or more which have these two properties; first, That the predicate of the proposition to be proved can be universally affirmed of it; and, secondly,

secondly, That it can be universally affirmed of the subject of the proposition to be proved. Every term you can find which has those two properties, will serve you as a middle term, but no other. In this way, the author gives special rules for all the various kinds of propositions to be proved; points out the various modes in which they may be proved, and the properties which the middle term must have to make it fit for answering that end. And the rules are illustrated, or rather, in my opinion, purposely darkened, by putting letters of the alphabet for the several terms.

SECT. 4. *Of the remaining part of the First Book.*

The resolution of fyllogisms requires no other principles but those before laid down for constructing them. However it is treated of largely, and rules laid down for reducing reasoning to fyllogisms, by supplying one of the premises when it is understood, by rectifying inversions, and putting the propositions in the proper order.

Here he speaks also of hypothetical fyllogisms; which, he acknowledges, cannot be resolved into any of the figures, although there be many kinds of them which ought diligently to be observed; and which he promises to handle afterwards. But this promise is not fulfilled, as far as I know, in any of his works that are extant.

SECT. 5. *Of the Second Book of the First Analytics.*

The second book treats of the powers of fyllogisms, and shows, in twenty-seven chapters, how we may perform many feats by them,

them, and what figures and modes are adapted to each. Thus, in some fyllogifms feveral diftinct conclufions may be drawn from the fame premifes : in fome, true conclufions may be drawn from falfe premifes : in fome, by affuming the conclufion and one premife, you may prove the other ; you may turn a direct fyllogifm into one leading to an abfurdity.

We have likewise precepts given in this book, both to the affailant in a fyllogiftical difpute, how to carry on his attack with art, fo as to obtain the victory ; and to the defendant, how to keep the enemy at fuch a diftance as that he fhall never be obliged to yield. From which we learn, that Aristotle introduced in his own fchool, the practice of difputing fyllogiftically, inftead of the rhetorical difputations which the fophifts were wont to ufe in more ancient times.

C H A P. IV.

Remarks.

SECT. I. *Of the Conversion of Propofitions.*

WE have given a fummary view of the theory of pure fyllogifms as delivered by Aristotle, a theory of which he claims the fole invention. And I believe it will be difficult, in any fci-
ence, to find fo large a fyftem of truths of fo very abftract and fo general a nature, all fortified by demonftration, and all invented and perfected by one man. It fhows a force of genius, and labour of
investigation,

very proposition the subject must be a substantive, or have the force of a substantive; and the predicate must be an adjective, or have the force of an adjective. Hence it follows, that when the subject is an individual, the proposition admits not of conversion. How, for instance, shall we convert this proposition, God is omniscient?

These observations show, that the doctrine of the conversion of propositions is not so complete as it appears. The rules are laid down without any limitation; yet they are fitted only to one class of propositions, to wit, the categorical; and of these only to such as have a general term for their subject.

SECT. 2. *On Additions made to Aristotle's Theory.*

Although the logicians have enlarged the first and second parts of logic, by explaining some technical words and distinctions which Aristotle had omitted, and by giving names to some kinds of propositions which he overlooks; yet in what concerns the theory of categorical syllogisms, he is more full, more minute and particular, than any of them: so that they seem to have thought this capital part of the Organon rather redundant than deficient.

It is true, that Galen added a fourth figure to the three mentioned by Aristotle. But there is reason to think that Aristotle omitted the fourth figure, not through ignorance or inattention, but of design, as containing only some indirect modes, which, when properly expressed, fall into the first figure.

It is true also, that Peter Ramus, a professed enemy of Aristotle, introduced some new modes that are adapted to singular propositions; and that Aristotle takes no notice of singular propositions, either in his rules of conversion, or in the modes of syllogism. But the friends of Aristotle have shewn, that this improvement
of

of Ramus is more specious than useful. Singular propositions have the force of universal propositions, and are subject to the same rules. The definition given by Aristotle of an universal proposition applies to them ; and therefore he might think, that there was no occasion to multiply the modes of fyllogism upon their account.

These attempts, therefore, show rather inclination than power, to discover any material defect in Aristotle's theory.

The most valuable addition made to the theory of categorical fyllogisms, seems to be the invention of those technical names given to the legitimate modes, by which they may be easily remembered, and which have been comprised in these barbarous verses.

Barbara, Celarent, Darii, Ferio, dato primæ ;
Cesare, Camestres, Festino, Baroco, secundæ ;
Tertia grande sonans recitat Darapti, Felapton ;
Adjungens Disamis, Datisi, Bocardo, Ferison.

In these verses, every legitimate mode belonging to the three figures has a name given to it, by which it may be distinguished and remembered. And this name is so contrived as to denote its nature : for the name has three vowels, which denote the kind of each of its propositions.

Thus, a fyllogism in *Bocardo* must be made up of the propositions denoted by the three vowels, O, A, O ; that is, its major and conclusion must be particular negative propositions, and its minor an universal affirmative ; and being in the third figure, the middle term must be the subject of both premises.

This is the mystery contained in the vowels of those barbarous words. But there are other mysteries contained in their consonants : for, by their means, a child may be taught to reduce any

fyllogifm of the fecond or third figure to one of the firft. So that the four modes of the firft figure being directly proved to be conclufive, all the modes of the other two are proved at the fame time, by means of this operation of reduction. For the rules and manner of this reduction, and the different fpecies of it, called *offenfive* and *per impoffibile*, I refer to the logicians, that I may not difclofe all their myfteries.

The invention contained in thefe verfes is fo ingenious, and fo great an adminicle to the dextrous management of fyllogifms, that I think it very probable that Ariftotle had fome contrivance of this kind, which was kept as one of the fecret doctrines of his fchool, and handed down by tradition, until fome body brought it to light. This is offered only as a conjecture, leaving it to thofe who are better acquainted with the moft ancient commentators on the Analytics, either to refute or to confirm it.

SECT. 3. *On Examples ufed to illuftrate this Theory.*

We may obferve, that Ariftotle hardly ever gives examples of real fyllogifms to illuftrate his rules. In demonftrating the legitimate modes, he takes A, B, C, for the terms of the fyllogifm. Thus, the firft mode of the firft figure is demonftrated by him in this manner. “For,” fays he, “if A is attributed to every B, and B to every C, it follows neceffarily, that A may be attributed to every C.” For difproving the illegitimate modes, he ufes the fame manner; with this difference, that he commonly for an example gives three real terms, fuch as, *bonum*, *habitus*, *prudencia*; of which three terms you are to make up a fyllogifm of the figure and mode in queftion, which will appear to be inconclufive.

The commentators, and fystematical writers in logic, have fupplied

plied this defect; and given us real examples of every legitimate mode in all the figures. This we must acknowledge to be charitably done, to assist the imagination in the conception of matters so very abstract; but whether it was prudently done for the honour of the art, may be doubted. I am afraid this was to uncover the nakedness of the theory; and has contributed much to bring it into contempt: for when one considers the silly and un-instructive reasonings that have been brought forth by this grand organ of science, he can hardly forbear crying out, *Parturiunt montes, et nascitur ridiculus mus*. Many of the writers of logic are acute and ingenious, and much practised in the syllogistical art; and there must be some reason why the examples they have given of syllogisms are so lean.

We shall speak of the reason afterwards; and shall now give a syllogism in each figure as an example.

No work of God is bad;

The natural passions and appetites of men are the work of God;

Therefore none of them is bad.

In this syllogism, the middle term, *work of God*, is the subject of the major and the predicate of the minor; so that the syllogism is of the first figure. The mode is that called *Celarent*; the major and conclusion being both universal negatives, and the minor an universal affirmative. It agrees to the rules of the figure, as the major is universal, and the minor affirmative; it is also agreeable to all the general rules; so that it maintains its character in every trial. And to show of what ductile materials syllogisms are made, we may, by converting simply the major proposition, reduce it to a good syllogism of the second figure, and of the mode *Cesare*, thus:

Whatever is bad is not the work of God;

All the natural passions and appetites of men are the work of God;

Therefore they are not bad.

Another

Another example :

Every thing virtuous is praise-worthy ;

Some pleasures are not praise-worthy ;

Therefore some pleasures are not virtuous.

Here the middle term *praise-worthy* being the predicate of both premises, the syllogism is of the second figure ; and seeing it is made up of the propositions, A, O, O, the mode is *Baroco*. It will be found to agree both with the general and special rules : and it may be reduced into a good syllogism of the first figure upon converting the major by contraposition, thus :

What is not praise-worthy is not virtuous ;

Some pleasures are not praise-worthy ;

Therefore some pleasures are not virtuous.

That this syllogism is conclusive, common sense pronounces, and all logicians must allow ; but it is somewhat unpliant to rules, and requires a little straining to make it tally with them.

That it is of the first figure is beyond dispute ; but to what mode of that figure shall we refer it ? This is a question of some difficulty. For, in the first place, the premises seem to be both negative, which contradicts the third general rule ; and moreover, it is contrary to a special rule of the first figure, That the minor should be negative. These are the difficulties to be removed.

Some logicians think, that the two negative particles in the major are equivalent to an affirmative ; and that therefore the major proposition, *What is not praise-worthy, is not virtuous*, is to be accounted an affirmative proposition. This, if granted, solves one difficulty ; but the other remains. The most ingenious solution, therefore, is this : Let the middle term be *not praise-worthy*. Thus, making the negative particle a part of the middle term, the syllogism stands thus :

Whatever is *not praise-worthy* is not virtuous ;

Some pleasures are *not praise-worthy* ;

Therefore some pleasures are not virtuous.

By

may be affirmed of all the species and individuals belonging to that *genus*; and that what is denied of the whole genus, may be denied of its species and individuals. The four modes of the first figure are evidently included in this axiom. And as to the legitimate modes of the other figures, they are proved by reducing them to some mode of the first. Nor is there any other principle assumed in these reductions but the axioms concerning the conversion of propositions, and in some cases the axioms concerning the opposition of propositions.

As to the illegitimate modes, Aristotle has taken the labour to try and condemn them one by one in all the three figures: but this is done in such a manner that it is very painful to follow him. To give a specimen. In order to prove, that those modes of the first figure in which the major is particular, do not conclude, he proceeds thus: "If A is or is not in some B, and B in every C, no conclusion follows. Take for the terms in the affirmative case, *good, habit, prudence*, in the negative, *good, habit, ignorance*." This laconic style, the use of symbols not familiar, and, in place of giving an example, his leaving us to form one from three assigned terms, give such embarrassment to a reader, that he is like one reading a book of riddles.

Having thus ascertained the true and false modes of a figure, he subjoins the particular rules of that figure, which seem to be deduced from the particular cases before determined. The general rules come last of all, as a general corollary from what goes before.

I know not whether it is from a diffidence of Aristotle's demonstrations, or from an apprehension of their obscurity, or from a desire of improving upon his method, that almost all the writers in logic I have met with, have inverted his order, beginning where he ends, and ending where he begins. They first demonstrate the general rules, which belong to all the figures, from
three

and if there is any defect of evidence in the axioms, this defect will be communicated to the whole edifice raised upon them.

It may even be suspected, that an attempt, by any method, to demonstrate, that a fyllogism is conclusive, is an impropriety somewhat like that of attempting to demonstrate an axiom. In a just fyllogism, the connection between the premises and the conclusion is not only real, but immediate; so that no proposition can come between them to make their connection more apparent. The very intention of a fyllogism is, to leave nothing to be supplied that is necessary to a complete demonstration. Therefore a man of common understanding, who has a perfect comprehension of the premises, finds himself under a necessity of admitting the conclusion, supposing the premises to be true; and the conclusion is connected with the premises with all the force of intuitive evidence. In a word, an immediate conclusion is seen in the premises, by the light of common sense; and where that is wanting, no kind of reasoning will supply its place.

SECT. 5. *On this Theory, considered as an Engine of Science.*

The slow progress of useful knowledge, during the many ages in which the fyllogistic art was most highly cultivated as the only guide to science, and its quick progress since that art was disused, suggest a presumption against it; and this presumption is strengthened by the puerility of the examples which have always been brought to illustrate its rules.

The ancients seem to have had too high notions, both of the force of the reasoning power in man, and of the art of fyllogism as its guide. Mere reasoning can carry us but a very little way in most subjects. By observation, and experiments properly conducted, the stock of human knowledge may be enlarged without end; but the power
of

of reasoning alone, applied with vigour through a long life, would only carry a man round, like a horse in a mill, who labours hard, but makes no progress. There is indeed an exception to this observation in the mathematical sciences. The relations of quantity are so various, and so susceptible of exact mensuration, that long trains of accurate reasoning on that subject may be formed, and conclusions drawn very remote from the first principles. It is in this science, and those which depend upon it, that the power of reasoning triumphs : in other matters its trophies are inconsiderable. If any man doubt this, let him produce, in any subject unconnected with mathematics, a train of reasoning of some length, leading to a conclusion, which without this train of reasoning would never have been brought within human sight. Every man acquainted with mathematics can produce thousands of such trains of reasoning. I do not say, that none such can be produced in other sciences ; but I believe they are few, and not easily found ; and that if they are found, it will not be in subjects that can be expressed by categorical propositions, to which alone the theory of figure and mode extends.

In matters to which that theory extends, a man of good sense, who can distinguish things that differ, and avoid the snares of ambiguous words, and is moderately practised in such matters, sees at once all that can be inferred from his premises ; or finds, that there is but a very short step to the conclusion.

When the power of reasoning is so feeble by nature, especially in subjects to which this theory can be applied, it would be unreasonable to expect great effects from it. And hence we see the reason why the examples brought to illustrate it by the most ingenious logicians, have rather tended to bring it into contempt.

If it should be thought, that the syllogistic art may be an useful engine in mathematics, in which pure reasoning has ample scope : First, It may be observed, That facts are unfavourable to

this opinion : for it does not appear, that Euclid, or Apollonius, or Archimedes, or Hugen, or Newton, ever made the least use of this art ; and I am even of opinion, that no use can be made of it in mathematics. I would not wish to advance this rashly, since Aristotle has said, that mathematicians reason for the most part in the first figure. What led him to think so was, that the first figure only yields conclusions that are universal and affirmative, and the conclusions of mathematics are commonly of that kind. But it is to be observed, that the propositions of mathematics are not categorical propositions, consisting of one subject and one predicate. They express some relation which one quantity bears to another, and on that account must have three terms. The quantities compared make two, and the relation between them is a third. Now to such propositions we can neither apply the rules concerning the conversion of propositions, nor can they enter into a syllogism of any of the figures or modes. We observed before, that this conversion, *A is greater than B, therefore B is less than A*, does not fall within the rules of conversion given by Aristotle or the logicians ; and we now add, that this simple reasoning, *A is equal to B, and B to C ; therefore A is equal to C*, cannot be brought into any syllogism in figure and mode. There are indeed syllogisms into which mathematical propositions may enter, and of such we shall afterwards speak : but they have nothing to do with the system of figure and mode.

When we go without the circle of the mathematical sciences, I know nothing in which there seems to be so much demonstration as in that part of logic which treats of the figures and modes of syllogism ; but the few remarks we have made, shew, that it has some weak places : and besides, this system cannot be used as an engine to rear itself.

The compass of the syllogistic system as an engine of science, may be discerned by a compendious and general view of the conclusion

SECT. 6. *On Modal Syllogisms.*

Categorical propositions, besides their quantity and quality, have another affection, by which they are divided into pure and modal. In a pure proposition, the predicate is barely affirmed or denied of the subject; but in a modal proposition, the affirmation or negation is modified, by being declared to be necessary or contingent, or possible or impossible. These are the four modes observed by Aristotle, from which he denominates a proposition modal. His genuine disciples maintain, that these are all the modes that can affect an affirmation or negation, and that the enumeration is complete. Others maintain, that this enumeration is incomplete; and that when an affirmation or negation is said to be certain or uncertain, probable or improbable, this makes a modal proposition, no less than the four modes of Aristotle. We shall not enter into this dispute; but proceed to observe, that the epithets of *pure* and *modal* are applied to syllogisms as well as to propositions. A pure syllogism is that in which both premises are pure propositions. A modal syllogism is that in which either of the premises is a modal proposition.

The syllogisms of which we have already said so much, are those only which are pure as well as categorical. But when we consider, that through all the figures and modes, a syllogism may have one premise modal of any of the four modes, while the other is pure, or it may have both premises modal, and that they may be either of the same mode or of different modes; what prodigious variety arises from all these combinations? Now it is the business of a logician, to shew how the conclusion is affected in all this variety of cases. Aristotle has done this in his First Analytics, with immense labour; and it will not be thought strange, that

most acute philosopher would have saved the great labour he has bestowed on this subject.

Burgesdick, after enumerating five classes of modal fyllogisms, observes, that they require many rules and cautions, which Aristotle hath handled diligently; but as the use of them is not great, and their rules are very difficult, he thinks it not worth while to enter into the discussion of them; recommending to those who would understand them, the most learned paraphrase of Joannes Monlorius, upon the first book of the First Analytics.

All the writers of logic for two hundred years back that have fallen into my hands, have passed over the rules of modal fyllogisms with as little ceremony. So that this great branch of the doctrine of fyllogism, so diligently handled by Aristotle, fell into neglect, if not contempt, even while the doctrine of pure fyllogisms continued in the highest esteem. Moved by these authorities, I shall let this doctrine rest in peace, without giving the least disturbance to its ashes.

SECT. 7. *On Syllogisms that do not belong to Figure and Mode.*

Aristotle gives some observations upon imperfect fyllogisms: such as, the Enthimema, in which one of the premises is not expressed but understood: Induction, wherein we collect an universal from a full enumeration of particulars: and Examples, which are an imperfect induction. The logicians have copied Aristotle upon these kinds of reasoning, without any considerable improvement. But to compensate the modal fyllogisms, which they have laid aside, they have given rules for several kinds of fyllogism, of which Aristotle takes no notice. These may be reduced to two classes.

The first class comprehends the fyllogisms into which any exclusive,

“ gain it. Protagoras found him a very apt scholar ; but, after
“ he had made good progress, he was in no haste to plead cau-
“ ses. The master, conceiving that he intended by this means to
“ shift off his second payment, took, as he thought, a sure me-
“ thod to get the better of his delay. He sued Euathlus before
“ the judges ; and, having opened his cause at the bar, he pleaded
“ to this purpose. O most foolish young man, do you not see,
“ that, in any event, I must gain my point ? for if the judges
“ give sentence for me, you must pay by their sentence ; if a-
“ gainst me, the condition of our bargain is fulfilled, and you
“ have no plea left for your delay, after having pleaded and gained
“ a cause. To which Euathlus answered. O most wise master,
“ I might have avoided the force of your argument, by not
“ pleading my own cause. But, giving up this advantage, do
“ you not see, that whatever sentence the judges pass, I am safe ?
“ If they give sentence for me, I am acquitted by their sentence ;
“ if against me, the condition of our bargain is not fulfilled, by
“ my pleading a cause, and losing it. The judges, thinking the
“ arguments unanswerable on both sides, put off the cause to a
“ long day.”

C H A P.

C H A P. V.

Account of the remaining books of the Organon.

SECT. I. *Of the Last Analytics.*

IN the First Analytics, fyllogifms are confidered in refpect of their form; they are now to be confidered in refpect of their matter. The form lies in the neceffary connection between the premifes and the conclufion; and where fuch a connection is wanting, they are faid to be informal, or vicious in point of form.

But where there is no fault in the form, there may be in the matter; that is, in the propofitions of which they are compofed, which may be true or falfe, probable or improbable.

When the premifes are certain, and the conclufion drawn from them in due form, this is demonftration, and produces fcience. Such fyllogifms are called *apodictical*; and are handled in the two books of the Laft Analytics. When the premifes are not certain, but probable only, fuch fyllogifms are called *dialectical*; and of them he treats in the eight books of the Topicks. But there are fome fyllogifms which feem to be perfect both in matter and form, when they are not really fo: as, a face may feem beautiful which is but painted. Thefe being apt to deceive, and produce a falfe opinion, are called *sophiftical*; and they are the fubject of the book concerning Sophifms.

To return to the Laft Analytics, which treat of demonftration

and of science: We shall not pretend to abridge those books; for Aristotle's writings do not admit of abridgement: no man can say what he says in fewer words; and he is not often guilty of repetition. We shall only give some of his capital conclusions, omitting his long reasonings and nice distinctions, of which his genius was wonderfully productive.

All demonstration must be built upon principles already known; and these upon others of the same kind; until we come at last to first principles, which neither can be demonstrated, nor need to be, being evident of themselves.

We cannot demonstrate things in a circle, supporting the conclusion by the premises, and the premises again by the conclusion. Nor can there be an infinite number of middle terms between the first principle and the conclusion.

In all demonstration, the first principles, the conclusion, and all the intermediate propositions, must be necessary, general, and eternal truths: for of things fortuitous, contingent, or mutable, or of individual things, there is no demonstration.

Some demonstrations prove only, that the thing is thus affected; others prove, why it is thus affected. The former may be drawn from a remote cause, or from an effect: but the latter must be drawn from an immediate cause; and are the most perfect.

The first figure is best adapted to demonstration, because it affords conclusions universally affirmative; and this figure is commonly used by the mathematicians.

The demonstration of an affirmative proposition is preferable to that of a negative; the demonstration of an universal to that of a particular; and direct demonstration to that *ad absurdum*.

The principles are more certain than the conclusion.

There cannot be opinion and science of the same thing at the same time.

In the second book we are taught, that the questions that may
be

be put, with regard to any thing, are four: 1. Whether the thing be thus affected. 2. Why it is thus affected. 3. Whether it exists. 4. What it is.

The last of these questions Aristotle, in good Greek, calls the *What is it* of a thing. The schoolmen, in very barbarous Latin, called this, the *quiddity* of a thing. This quiddity, he proves by many arguments, cannot be demonstrated, but must be fixed by a definition. This gives occasion to treat of definition, and how a right definition should be formed. As an example he gives a definition of the number *three*, and defines it to be the first odd number.

In this book he treats also of the four kinds of causes; efficient, material, formal, and final.

Another thing treated of in this book is, the manner in which we acquire first principles, which are the foundation of all demonstration. These are not innate, because we may be for a great part of life ignorant of them: nor can they be deduced demonstratively from any antecedent knowledge, otherwise they would not be first principles. Therefore he concludes, that first principles are got by induction, from the informations of sense. The senses give us informations of individual things, and from these by induction we draw general conclusions: for it is a maxim with Aristotle, That there is nothing in the understanding which was not before in some sense.

The knowledge of first principles, as it is not acquired by demonstration, ought not to be called science; and therefore he calls it *intelligence*.

SECT.

SECT. 2. *Of the Topics.*

The professed design of the Topics is, to shew a method by which a man may be able to reason with probability and consistency upon every question that may occur.

Every question is either about the genus of the subject, or its specific difference, or some thing proper to it, or something accidental.

To prove that this division is complete, Aristotle reasons thus : Whatever is attributed to a subject, it must either be, that the subject can be reciprocally attributed to it, or that it cannot. If the subject and attribute can be reciprocated, the attribute either declares what the subject is, and then it is a definition ; or it does not declare what the subject is, and then it is a property. If the attribute cannot be reciprocated, it must be something contained in the definition, or not. If it is contained in the definition of the subject, it must be the genus of the subject, or its specific difference ; for the definition consists of these two. If it is not contained in the definition of the subject, it must be an accident.

The furniture proper to fit a man for arguing dialectically may be reduced to these four heads : 1. Probable propositions of all sorts, which may on occasion be assumed in an argument. 2. Distinctions of words which are nearly of the same signification. 3. Distinctions of things which are not so far asunder but that they may be taken for one and the same. 4. Similitudes.

The second and the five following books are taken up in enumerating the topics or heads of argument that may be used in questions about the genus, the definition, the properties, and the accidents of a thing ; and occasionally he introduces the topics for
proving

The last book of the Topics is a code of the laws, according to which a fyllogistical disputation ought to be managed, both on the part of the assailant and defendant. From which it is evident, that this philosopher trained his disciples to contend, not for the truth merely, but for victory.

SECT. 3. *Of the book concerning Sophisms.*

A fyllogism which leads to a false conclusion, must be vicious, either in matter or form: for from true principles nothing but truth can be justly deduced. If the matter be faulty, that is, if either of the premises be false, that premise must be denied by the defendant. If the form be faulty, some rule of fyllogism is transgressed; and it is the part of the defendant to shew, what general or special rule it is that is transgressed. So that, if he is an able logician, he will be impregnable in the defence of truth, and may resist all the attacks of the sophist. But as there are fyllogisms which may seem to be perfect both in matter and form, when they are not really so, as a piece of money may seem to be good coin, when it is adulterate; such fallacious fyllogisms are considered in this treatise, in order to make a defendant more expert in the use of his defensive weapons.

And here the author, with his usual magnanimity, attempts to bring all the fallacies that can enter into a fyllogism under thirteen heads; of which six lie in the diction or language, and seven not in the diction.

The fallacies in diction are, 1. When an ambiguous word is taken at one time in one sense, and at another time in another. 2. When an ambiguous phrase is taken in the same manner. 3. and 4. are ambiguities in syntax; when words are conjoined in syntax that ought to be disjoined; or disjoined when they ought

ought to be conjoined. 5. is an ambiguity in prosody, accent, or pronunciation. 6. An ambiguity arising from some figure of speech.

When a sophism of any of these kinds is translated into another language, or even rendered into unambiguous expressions in the same language, the fallacy is evident, and the syllogism appears to have four terms.

The seven fallacies which are said not to be in the diction, but in the thing, have their proper names in Greek and in Latin, by which they are distinguished. Without minding their names, we shall give a brief account of their nature.

1. The first is, Taking an accidental conjunction of things for a natural or necessary connection: as, when from an accident we infer a property; when from an example we infer a rule; when from a single act we infer a habit.

2. Taking that absolutely which ought to be taken comparatively, or with a certain limitation. The construction of language often leads into this fallacy: for in all languages it is common to use absolute terms, to signify things which carry in them some secret comparison; or to use unlimited terms, to signify what from its nature must be limited.

3. Taking that for the cause of a thing which was only an occasion, or concomitant.

4. Begging the question. This is done, when the thing to be proved, or some thing equivalent, is assumed in the premises.

5. Mistaking the question. When the conclusion of the syllogism is not the thing that ought to be proved, but something else that is mistaken for it.

6. When that which is not a consequence is mistaken for a consequence; as if, because all Africans are black, it were taken for granted that all blacks are Africans.

7. The last fallacy lies in propositions that are complex, and

imply two affirmations, whereof one may be true, and the other false; so that whether you grant the proposition, or deny it, you are intangled: as when it is affirmed, that such a man has left off playing the fool. If it be granted, it implies, that he did play the fool formerly. If it be denied, it implies, or seems to imply, that he plays the fool still.

In this enumeration, we ought, in justice to Aristotle, to expect only the fallacies incident to categorical syllogisms. And I do not find, that the logicians have made any additions to it when taken in this view; altho' they have given some other fallacies that are incident to syllogisms of the hypothetical kind, particularly the fallacy of an incomplete enumeration in disjunctive syllogisms and dilemmas.

The different species of sophisms above mentioned are not so precisely defined by Aristotle, or by subsequent logicians, but that they allow of great latitude in the application; and it is often dubious under what particular species a sophistical syllogism ought to be classed. We even find the same example brought under one species by one author, and under another species by another. Nay, what is more strange, Aristotle himself employs a long chapter in proving by a particular induction, that all the seven may be brought under that which we have called *mistaking the question*, and which is commonly called *ignoratio elenchi*. And indeed the proof of this is easy, without that laborious detail which Aristotle uses for the purpose: for if you lop off from the conclusion of a sophistical syllogism all that is not supported by the premises, the conclusion, in that case, will always be found different from that which ought to have been proved; and so it falls under the *ignoratio elenchi*.

It was probably Aristotle's aim, to reduce all the possible variety of sophisms, as he had attempted to do of just syllogisms, to certain definite species: but he seems to be sensible that he had fallen

fallen short in this last attempt. When a genus is properly divided into its species, the species should not only, when taken together, exhaust the whole genus; but every species should have its own precinct so accurately defined, that one shall not encroach upon another. And when an individual can be said to belong to two or three different species, the division is imperfect; yet this is the case of Aristotle's division of the sophisms, by his own acknowledgement. It ought not therefore to be taken for a division strictly logical. It may rather be compared to the several species or forms of action invented in law for the redress of wrongs. For every wrong there is a remedy in law by one action or another: but sometimes a man may take his choice among several different actions. So every sophistical syllogism may, by a little art, be brought under one or other of the species mentioned by Aristotle, and very often you may take your choice of two or three.

Besides the enumeration of the various kinds of sophisms, there are many other things in this treatise concerning the art of managing a syllogistical dispute with an antagonist. And indeed, if the passion for this kind of litigation, which reigned for so many ages, should ever again lift up its head, we may predict, that the *Organon* of Aristotle will then become a fashionable study: for it contains such admirable materials and documents for this art, that it may be said to have brought it to a science.

The conclusion of this treatise ought not to be overlooked: it manifestly relates, not to the present treatise only, but also to the whole analytics and topics of the author. I shall therefore give the substance of it.

“ Of those who may be called inventors, some have made important additions to things long before begun, and carried on through a course of ages; others have given a small beginning to things which, in succeeding times, will be brought to greater perfection. The beginning of a thing, though small, is the

“ chief part of it, and requires the greatest degree of invention ;
“ for it is easy to make additions to inventions once begun. Now
“ with regard to the dialectical art, there was not something done,
“ and something remaining to be done. There was absolutely
“ nothing done : for those who professed the art of disputation,
“ had only a set of orations composed, and of arguments, and
“ of captious questions, which might suit many occasions. These
“ their scholars soon learned, and fitted to the occasion. This
“ was not to teach you the art, but to furnish you with the mate-
“ rials produced by the art : as if a man professing to teach you
“ the art of making shoes, should bring you a parcel of shoes of
“ various sizes and shapes, from which you may provide those
“ who want. This may have its use ; but it is not to teach the
“ art of making shoes. And indeed, with regard to rhetorical
“ declamation, there are many precepts handed down from an-
“ cient times ; but with regard to the construction of syllogisms,
“ not one.

“ We have therefore employed much time and labour upon
“ this subject ; and if our system appears to you not to be in the
“ number of those things, which, being before carried a certain
“ length, were left to be perfected ; we hope for your favourable
“ acceptance of what is done, and your indulgence in what is left
“ imperfect.”

C H A P.

C H A P. VI.

Reflections on the Utility of Logic, and the Means of its Improvement.

SECT. I. *Of the Utility of Logic.*

MEN rarely leave one extreme without running into the contrary. It is no wonder, therefore, that the excessive admiration of Aristotle, which continued for so many ages, should end in an undue contempt; and that the high esteem of logic as the grand engine of science, should at last make way for too unfavourable an opinion, which seems now prevalent, of its being unworthy of a place in a liberal education. Those who think according to the fashion, as the greatest part of men do, will be as prone to go into this extreme, as their grandfathers were to go into the contrary.

Laying aside prejudice, whether fashionable or unfashionable, let us consider whether logic is, or may be made, subservient to any good purpose. Its professed end is, to teach men to think, to judge, and to reason, with precision and accuracy. No man will say that this is a matter of no importance; the only thing, therefore, that admits of doubt, is, whether it can be taught.

To resolve this doubt, it may be observed, that our rational faculty is the gift of God, given to men in very different measure. Some have a larger portion, some a less; and where there is a remarkable defect of the natural power, it cannot be supplied by
any

any culture whatsoever. But this natural power, even where it is strongest, may lie dead for want of the means of improvement; and a savage may have been born with as good faculties as a Bacon or a Newton. The amazing difference that appears in advanced life, is owing to this, that the talent of one was buried, being never put to use, while that of the other was cultivated to the best advantage.

It may likewise be observed, that the chief mean of improving our rational power, is the vigorous exercise of it, in various ways, and in different subjects, by which the habit is acquired of exercising it properly. Without such exercise, and good sense over and above, a man who has studied logic all his life may, after all, be only a petulant wrangler, without true judgement, or skill of reasoning, in any science.

I take this to be Locke's meaning, when, in his *Thoughts on Education*, he says, "If you would have your son to reason well, let him read Chillingworth." The state of things is much altered since Locke wrote. Logic has been much improved, chiefly by his writings; and yet much less stress is laid upon it, and less time consumed in it. His counsel, therefore, was judicious and seasonable; to wit, That the improvement of our reasoning power is to be expected much more from an intimate acquaintance with the authors who reason best, than from studying voluminous systems of logic. But if he had meant, that the study of logic was of no use, nor deserved any attention, he surely would not have taken the pains to have made so considerable an addition to it, by his *Essay on the Human Understanding*, and by his *Thoughts on the Conduct of the Understanding*. Nor would he have remitted his pupil to Chillingworth, the acutest logician, as well as the best reasoner, of his age; and one who, in innumerable places of his excellent book, without pedantry even in that pedantic age, makes

I agree with Mr Locke, that there is no study better fitted to exercise and strengthen the reasoning powers, than that of the mathematical sciences; for two reasons; first, Because there is no other branch of science which gives such scope to long and accurate trains of reasoning; and, secondly, Because in mathematics there is no room for authority, or for prejudice of any kind, which may give a false bias to the judgement.

When a youth of moderate parts begins to study Euclid, every thing at first is new to him. His apprehension is unsteady; his judgement is feeble; and rests partly upon the evidence of the thing, and partly upon the authority of his teacher. But every time he goes over the definitions, the axioms, the elementary propositions, more light breaks in upon him; the language becomes familiar, and conveys clear and steady conceptions; the judgement is confirmed; he begins to see what demonstration is; and it is impossible to see it without being charmed with it. He perceives it to be a kind of evidence which has no need of authority to strengthen it. He finds himself emancipated from that bondage, and exults so much in this new state of independence, that he spurns at authority, and would have demonstration for every thing; until experience teaches him, that this is a kind of evidence which cannot be had in most things; and that in his most important concerns, he must rest contented with probability.

As he goes on in mathematics, the road of demonstration becomes smooth and easy; he can walk in it firmly, and take wider steps: and, at last, he acquires the habit, not only of understanding a demonstration, but of discovering and demonstrating mathematical truths.

Thus, a man without rules of logic, may acquire the habit of reasoning justly in mathematics; and, I believe, he may, by like means, acquire the habit of reasoning justly in mechanics, in jurisprudence,

jurisprudence, in politics, or in any other science. Good sense, good examples, and assiduous exercise, may bring a man to reason justly and acutely in his own profession, without rules.

But if any man think, that from this concession he may infer the inutility of logic, he betrays a great want of that art by this inference: for it is no better reasoning than this, That because a man may go from Edinburgh to London by the way of Paris, therefore any other road is useless.

There is perhaps no practical art which may not be acquired, in a very considerable degree, by example and practice, without reducing it to rules. But practice, joined with rules, may carry a man on in his art farther and more quickly, than practice without rules. Every ingenious artist knows the utility of having his art reduced to rules, and by that means made a science. He is thereby enlightened in his practice, and works with more assurance. By rules, he sometimes corrects his own errors, and often detects the errors of others: he finds them of great use to confirm his judgement, to justify what is right, and to condemn what is wrong.

Is it of no use in reasoning, to be well acquainted with the various powers of the human understanding, by which we reason? Is it of no use, to resolve the various kinds of reasoning into their simple elements; and to discover, as far as we are able, the rules by which those elements are combined in judging and in reasoning? Is it of no use, to mark the various fallacies in reasoning, by which even the most ingenious men have been led into error? It must surely betray great want of understanding, to think these things useless or unimportant. These are the things which logicians have attempted; and which they have executed; not indeed so completely as to leave no room for improvement, but in such a manner as to give very considerable aid to our reasoning powers. That the principles laid down with regard to definition

and division, with regard to the conversion and opposition of propositions and the general rules of reasoning, are not without use, is sufficiently apparent from the blunders committed by those who disdain any acquaintance with them.

Although the art of categorical syllogism is better fitted for scholastic litigation, than for real improvement in knowledge, it is a venerable piece of antiquity, and a great effort of human genius. We admire the pyramids of Egypt, and the wall of China, tho' useless burdens upon the earth. We can bear the most minute description of them, and travel hundreds of leagues to see them. If any person should, with sacrilegious hands, destroy or deface them, his memory would be had in abhorrence. The predicaments and predicables, the rules of syllogism, and the topics, have a like title to our veneration as antiquities: they are uncommon efforts, not of human power, but of human genius; and they make a remarkable period in the progress of human reason.

The prejudice against logic has probably been strengthened by its being taught too early in life. Boys are often taught logic as they are taught their creed, when it is an exercise of memory only, without understanding. One may as well expect to understand grammar before he can speak, as to understand logic before he can reason. It must even be acknowledged, that commonly we are capable of reasoning in mathematics more early than in logic. The objects presented to the mind in this science, are of a very abstract nature, and can be distinctly conceived only when we are capable of attentive reflection upon the operations of our own understanding, and after we have been accustomed to reason. There may be an elementary logic, level to the capacity of those who have been but little exercised in reasoning; but the most important parts of this science require a ripe understanding, capable of reflecting

happy thought in a late ingenious writer of English grammar, to collect under the several rules, examples of bad English found in the most approved authors. It were to be wished that the rules of logic were illustrated in the same manner. By this means, a system of logic would become a repository; wherein whatever is most acute in judging and in reasoning, whatever is most accurate in dividing, distinguishing, and defining, should be laid up and disposed in order for our imitation; and wherein the false steps of eminent authors should be recorded for our admonition.

After men had laboured in the search of truth near two thousand years, by the help of syllogisms, Lord Bacon proposed the method of induction, as a more effectual engine for that purpose. His *Novum Organum* gave a new turn to the thoughts and labours of the inquisitive, more remarkable, and more useful, than that which the *Organum* of Aristotle had given before; and may be considered as a second grand æra in the progress of human reason.

The art of syllogism produced numberless disputes, and numberless sects, who fought against each other with much animosity, without gaining or losing ground; but did nothing considerable for the benefit of human life. The art of induction, first delineated by Lord Bacon, produced numberless laboratories and observatories, in which Nature has been put to the question by thousands of experiments, and forced to confess many of her secrets, which before were hid from mortals. And by these, arts have been improved, and human knowledge wonderfully increased.

In reasoning by syllogism, from general principles we descend to a conclusion virtually contained in them. The process of induction is more arduous; being an ascent from particular premises to a general conclusion. The evidence of such general conclusions is not demonstrative, but probable: but when the induction

in the third book of his *Principia*, and in his Optics, had the rules of the *Novum Organum* constantly in his eye.

I think Lord Bacon was also the first who endeavoured to reduce to a system the prejudices or biases of the mind, which are the causes of false judgement, and which he calls *the idols of the human understanding*. Some late writers of logic have very properly introduced this into their system; but it deserves to be more copiously handled, and to be illustrated by real examples.

It is of great consequence to accurate reasoning, to distinguish first principles which are to be taken for granted, from propositions which require proof. All the real knowledge of mankind may be divided into two parts: the first consisting of self-evident propositions; the second, of those which are deduced by just reasoning from self-evident propositions. The line which divides these two parts ought to be marked as distinctly as possible, and the principles that are self-evident reduced, as far as can be done, to general axioms. This has been done in mathematics from the beginning, and has tended greatly to the emolument of that science. It has lately been done in natural philosophy: and by this means that science has advanced more in an hundred and fifty years, than it had done before in two thousand. Every science is in an unformed state until its first principles are ascertained: after that is done, it advances regularly, and secures the ground it has gained.

Altho' first principles do not admit of direct proof, yet there must be certain marks and characters, by which those that are truly such may be distinguished from counterfeits. These marks ought to be described, and applied, to distinguish the genuine from the spurious.

In the ancient philosophy there is a redundance, rather than a defect, of first principles. Many things were assumed under that character without a just title: That nature abhors a *vacuum*;

That

and three made five, and whether he was dreaming or awake. It is more strange, that so acute a reasoner should not perceive, that his whole train of reasoning to prove that his faculties were not fallacious, was mere sophistry: for if his faculties were fallacious, they might deceive him in this train of reasoning; and so the conclusion, That they were not fallacious, was only the testimony of his faculties in their own favour, and might be a fallacy.

It is difficult to give any reason for distrusting our other faculties, that will not reach consciousness itself. And he who distrusts those faculties of judging and reasoning which God hath given him, must even rest in his scepticism till he come to a sound mind, or until God give him new faculties to fit in judgement upon the old. If it be not a first principle, That our faculties are not fallacious, we must be absolute sceptics: for this principle is incapable of proof; and if it is not certain, nothing else can be certain.

Since the time of Des Cartes, it has been fashionable with those who dealt in abstract philosophy, to employ their invention in finding philosophical arguments, either to prove those truths which ought to be received as first principles, or to overturn them: and it is not easy to say, whether the authority of first principles is more hurt by the first of these attempts, or by the last; for such principles can stand secure only upon their own bottom; and to place them upon any other foundation than that of their intrinsic evidence, is in effect to overturn them.

I have lately met with a very sensible and judicious treatise, wrote by Father Buffier about fifty years ago, concerning first principles, and the source of human judgements, which, with great propriety, he prefixed to his treatise of logic. And indeed I apprehend it is a subject of such consequence, that if inquisitive

men

men can be brought to the same unanimity in the first principles of the other sciences, as in those of mathematics and natural philosophy, (and why should we despair of a general agreement in things that are self-evident?), this might be considered as a third grand era in the progress of human reason.

S K E T C H I I.

Principles and Progress of MORALITY.

THE science of morals, like other sciences, is in a very imperfect state among savages; and arrives at maturity among enlightened nations by very slow degrees. This progress points out the historical part, as first in order: but as that history would give little satisfaction, without a rule for comparing the morals of different ages, and of different nations, I begin with the principles of morality, such as ought to govern at all times, and in all nations. The present sketch accordingly is divided into two parts. In the first, the principles are unfolded; and the second is altogether historical.

P A R T I.

PRINCIPLES of MORALITY.

S E C T. I.

HUMAN ACTIONS *analysed*.

THE hand of God is no where more visible, than in the nice adjustment of our internal frame to our situation in this world. An animal is endued with a power of self-motion; and
in

in performing animal functions, requires not any external aid. This more especially is the case of man, the noblest of terrestrial beings. His heart beats, his blood circulates, his stomach digests, evacuations proceed, &c. &c. By what means? Not surely by the laws of mechanism, which are far from being adequate to such operations. The operations mentioned are effects of an internal power, bestow'd on man for preserving life. The power is exerted uniformly, and without interruption, independent of will, and without consciousness.

Man is a being susceptible of pleasure and pain: these generate desire to attain what is agreeable, and to shun what is disagreeable; and he is enabled by other powers to gratify his desires. One power, termed *instinct*, is exerted indeed with consciousness; but blindly, without will, and without intention to produce any effect. Brute animals act for the most part by instinct: hunger prompts them to eat, and cold, to take shelter; knowingly indeed, but without exerting any act of will, and without foresight of what will happen. Infants of the human species, little superior to brutes, are, like brutes, governed by instinct: they lay hold of the nipple, without knowing that sucking will satisfy their hunger; and they weep when pained, without any view of relief*. Another power is governed by intention and will. In the progress from infancy to maturity, the mind opens to objects, with-

* Akin to these, are certain habitual acts done without thought, such as snuffing or grinning. Custom enables one to move the fingers on an instrument of music, without being directed by will: the motion is often too quick for an act of will. Some arrive at great perfection in the art of balancing: the slightest deviation from the just balance is instantly redressed: were a preceding act of will necessary, it would be too late. An unexpected hollow in walking, occasions a violent shock: is not this evidence, that external motion is governed by the mind, frequently without consciousness; and that in walking, the body is adjusted beforehand to what is expected?

out end, of desire and of averſion, the attaining or ſhunning of which depend more or leſs on our own will. We are placed in a wide world, left to our own conduct; and we are by nature provided with a proper power for performing what we intend and will. The actions we perform by this power are termed *voluntary*. There ſtill remain another ſpecies of actions, termed *involuntary*; as where we act by ſome irrefiſtible motive againſt our will. An action may be voluntary, tho' done with reluctance; as where a man, to free himſelf from torture, reveals the ſecrets of his friend: his confeſſion is voluntary, tho' drawn from him with great reluctance. But let us ſuppoſe, that after the firmeſt reſolution to reveal nothing, his mind is unhinged by exquisite torture; the diſcovery he makes may be juſtly termed *involuntary*: he ſpeaks indeed; but he is compelled to it abſolutely againſt his will.

Man is by his nature an accountable being, anſwerable for his conduct to God and man. In doing any action that wears a double face, he is prompted by his nature to explain the ſame to his relations, his friends, his acquaintance; and above all, to thoſe who have authority over him. He hopes for praiſe for every right action, and dreads blame for every one that is wrong. But for what ſort of actions does he hold himſelf accountable? Not ſurely for an inſtinctive action, which is done blindly, without intention, and without will: neither for an involuntary action, becauſe it is extorted from him againſt his will: and leaſt of all, for actions done without conſciouſneſs, ſuch as thoſe which preſerve life. What only remain are voluntary actions, which are either right or wrong. Such actions are done wittingly and willingly: for theſe we muſt anſwer, if at all accountable; and for theſe every man in conſcience holds himſelf bound to anſwer.

And now more particularly upon voluntary actions. To intend and to will, tho' commonly held ſynonymous, ſignify different
acts

acts of the mind. Intention respects the effect : Will respects the action that is exerted for producing the effect. It is my intention, for example, to relieve my friend from distress : upon seeing him, it is my Will to give him a sum for his relief : the external act of giving follows ; and my friend is relieved, which is the effect intended. But these internal acts, tho' in their nature different, are always united : I cannot will the means, without intending the effect ; and I cannot intend the effect, without willing the means *.

Some effects of voluntary action follow necessarily : A wound is an effect that necessarily follows the stabbing a person with a dagger : death is a necessary effect of throwing one down from the battlements of a high tower. Some effects are probable only : I labour in order to provide for my family ; fight for my country to rescue it from oppressors ; take physic for my health. In such cases, the event intended does not necessarily nor always follow.

A man, when he wills to act, must intend the necessary effect : a person who stabs, certainly intends to wound. But where the effect is probable only, a man may act without intending the effect that follows : a stone thrown by me at random into the market-place, may happen to wound a man without my intending it. One acts by instinct, without either will or intention : voluntary actions that necessarily produce their effect, imply intention : voluntary actions, when the effect is probable only, are sometimes intended, sometimes not.

Human actions are distinguished from each other by certain *qualities*, termed *right* and *wrong*. But as these make the cornerstone of morality, they are reserved to the following section.

* To incline, to resolve, to intend, to will, are acts of the mind relative to external action. These several acts are well understood ; tho' they cannot be defined, being perfectly simple.

S E C T. II.

Division of Human Actions into RIGHT, WRONG, and INDIFFERENT.

THE qualities of right and wrong in voluntary actions, are universally acknowledged as the foundation of morality; and yet philosophers have been strangely perplexed about them. The history of their various opinions, would signify little but to darken the subject: the reader will have more satisfaction in seeing these qualities explained, without entering at all into controversy.

No person is ignorant of primary and secondary qualities, a distinction much insisted on by philosophers. Primary qualities, such as figure, cohesion, weight, are permanent qualities, that exist in a subject whether perceived or not. Secondary qualities, such as colour, taste, smell, depend on the percipient as much as on the subject, being nothing when not perceived. Beauty and ugliness are qualities of the latter sort: they have no existence but when perceived; and, like all other secondary qualities, they are perceived intuitively; having no dependence on reason nor on judgement, more than colour has, or smell, or taste (a).

The qualities of right and wrong in voluntary actions, are secondary, like beauty and ugliness, and the other secondary qualities mentioned. Like them, they are objects of intuitive perception, and depend not in any degree on reason or on judge-

(a) Elements of Criticism, vol. 1 p. 207. edit. 5.

ment.

ment. No argument is requisite to prove, that to rescue an innocent babe from the jaws of a wolf, to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, are right actions: they are perceived to be so intuitively. As little is an argument requisite to prove, that murder, deceit, perjury, are wrong actions: they are perceived intuitively to be so. The Deity has bestow'd on man, different faculties for different purposes. Truth and falsehood are investigated by the reasoning faculty. Beauty and ugliness are objects of a sense, known by the name of *taste*. Right and wrong are objects of a sense termed the *moral sense* or *conscience*. And supposing these qualities to be hid from our perception, in vain would we try to discover them by any argument, or process of reasoning: the attempt would be absurd; no less so than an attempt to discover colour, by reasoning, or taste, or smell *.

Right and wrong, as mentioned above, are qualities of voluntary actions, and of no other kind. An instinctive action is beneficial, is agreeable; but it cannot properly be denominated either right or wrong. An involuntary act is hurtful to the agent, and disagreeable to the spectator; but in the agent it is neither right nor wrong. These qualities also depend in no degree on the event. Thus, if, to save my friend from drowning, I plunge into a river, the action is right, tho' I happen to come too late.

* Every perception must proceed from some faculty or power of perception, termed *sense*. The moral sense, by which we perceive the qualities of right and wrong, may be considered either as a branch of the sense of seeing, by which we perceive the actions to which these qualities belong, or as a sense distinct from all others. The senses by which objects are perceived, are not separated from each other by distinct boundaries; and the sorting or classing them, seems to depend more on taste and fancy, than on nature. I have followed the plan laid down by former writers; which is, to consider the moral sense as a sense distinct from others, because it is the easiest and clearest manner of conceiving it.

And

And if I aim a stroke at a man behind his back, the action is wrong, tho' I happen not to touch him.

The qualities of right and of agreeable, are inseparable; and so are the qualities of wrong and of disagreeable. A right action, accordingly, is agreeable; not only in the direct perception, but equally so in every subsequent recollection. And in both circumstances equally, a wrong action is disagreeable.

Right actions are distinguished by the moral sense into two kinds, viz. what *ought* to be done, and what *may* be done, or left undone. Wrong actions admit not that distinction: they are all prohibited to be done. To say that an action ought to be done, means that we are tied or obliged to perform; and to say that an action ought not to be done, means that we are restrained from doing it. Tho' the necessity implied in the being tied or obliged, is not physical, but only what is commonly termed *moral*; yet we conceive ourselves deprived of liberty or freedom, and necessarily bound to act or to forbear acting, in opposition to every other motive. The necessity here described is termed *duty*. The moral necessity we are under to forbear harming the innocent, is a proper example: the moral sense declares the restraint to be our duty, which no motive whatever will excuse us for transgressing.

The duty of performing or forbearing any action, implies a *right* in some person to exact performance of that duty; and accordingly, a duty or obligation necessarily infers a corresponding right. A promise on my part to pay L. 100, confers a right to demand performance. The man who commits an injury, violates the *right* of the person injured, which entitles him to demand reparation of the wrong.

Duty is twofold; duty to others, and duty to ourselves. With respect to the former, the doing what we ought to do, is termed *just*: the doing what we ought not to do, and the omitting what

we

we ought to do, are termed *unjust*. With respect to ourselves, the doing what we ought to do, is termed *proper*: the doing what we ought not to do, and the omitting what we ought to do, are termed *improper*. Thus, *right*, signifying a quality of certain actions, is a genus; of which *just* and *proper* are species: *wrong*, signifying a quality of other actions, is a genus; of which *unjust* and *improper* are species.

Right actions left to our free will, to be done, or left undone, come next in order. They are, like the former, right when done; but they differ, in not being wrong when left undone. To remit a just debt for the sake of a growing family, to yield a subject in controversy rather than go to law with a neighbour, generously to return good for ill, are examples of this species. They are universally approved as right actions: but as no person has a right or title to oblige us to perform such actions, the leaving them undone is not a wrong: no person is injured by the forbearance. Actions that come under this class, shall be termed *arbitrary*, for want of a more proper designation.

So much for right actions, and their divisions. Wrong actions are of two kinds, *criminal* and *culpable*. What are done intentionally to produce mischief, are criminal: such rash or unguarded actions as produce mischief without intention, are culpable. The former are restrained by punishment, to be handled in the 5th section; the latter by reparation, to be handled in the 6th.

The divisions of voluntary actions are not yet exhausted. Some there are that, properly speaking, cannot be denominated either right or wrong. Actions done merely for amusement or pastime, without intention to produce good or ill, are of that kind; leaping, for example, running, jumping over a stick, throwing a stone to make circles in the water. Such actions are neither approved nor disapproved: they may be termed *indifferent*.

There is no cause for doubting the existence of the moral sense,

more than for doubting the existence of the sense of beauty, of seeing, or of hearing. In fact, the perception of right and wrong as qualities of actions, is no less distinct and clear, than that of beauty, of colour, or of any other quality; and as every perception is an act of sense, the sense of beauty is not with greater certainty evinced from the perception of beauty, than the moral sense is from the perception of right and wrong. We find this sense distributed among individuals in different degrees of perfection: but there perhaps never existed any one above the condition of an idiot, who possessed it not in some degree; and were any man entirely destitute of it, the terms *right* and *wrong* would be to him no less unintelligible, than the term colour is to one born blind.

That every individual is endued with a sense of right and wrong, more or less distinct, will probably be granted; but whether there be among men what may be termed a *common sense* of right and wrong, producing uniformity of opinion as to right and wrong, is not so evident. There is no absurdity in supposing the opinions of men about right and wrong, to be as various as about beauty and deformity: and that this supposition is not destitute of foundation, we are led to suspect, upon discovering that in different countries, and even in the same country at different times, the opinions publicly espoused with regard to right and wrong, are extremely various; that among some nations it was held lawful for a man to sell his children for slaves, and in their infancy to abandon them to wild beasts; that it was held equally lawful to punish children, even capitally, for the crime of their parent; that the murdering an enemy in cold blood, was once a common practice; that human sacrifices, impious no less than immoral according to our notions, were of old universal; that even in later times, it has been held meritorious, to inflict cruel torments for the slightest deviations from the religious creed
of

of the plurality; and that among the most enlightened nations, there are considerable differences with respect to the rules of morality.

These facts tend not to disprove the reality of a common sense in morals: they only prove, that the moral sense has not been equally perfect at all times, nor in all countries. This branch of the history of morality, is reserved for the second part. To give some present satisfaction, I shall shortly observe, that the savage state is the infancy of man; during which, the more delicate senses lie dormant, leaving nations to the authority of custom, of imitation, and of passion, without any just taste of morals more than of the fine arts. But nations, like individuals, ripen gradually, and acquire a refined taste in morals as well as in the fine arts: after which we find great uniformity of opinion about the rules of right and wrong; with few exceptions, but what may proceed from imbecility, or corrupted education. There may be found, it is true, even in the most enlightened ages, men who have singular notions of morality; and there may be found the like singularity upon many other subjects: which no more affords an argument against a common sense or standard of right and wrong, than a monster doth against the standard that regulates our external form, or than an exception doth against the truth of a general proposition.

That there is in mankind an uniformity of opinion with respect to right and wrong, is a matter of fact of which the only infallible evidence is observation and experience: and to that evidence I appeal; entering only a caveat, that, for the reason above given, the enquiry be confined to enlightened nations. In the mean time, I take liberty to suggest an argument from analogy, That if there be great uniformity among the different tribes of men in seeing and hearing, in pleasure and pain, in judging of truth and error, the same uniformity ought to hold with respect

to right and wrong. Whatever minute differences there may be to distinguish one person from another, yet in the general principles that constitute our nature, internal and external, there is wonderful uniformity.

This uniformity of sentiment, which may be termed *the common sense of mankind with respect to right and wrong*, is essential to social beings. Did the moral sentiments of men differ as much as their faces, they would be altogether unqualified for society: discord and controversy would be endless, and *major vis* would be the only rule of *meum et tuum*.

But such uniformity of sentiment, tho' general, is not altogether universal: men there are, as above mentioned, who differ from the common sense of mankind with respect to various points of morality. What ought to be the conduct of such men? ought they to regulate their conduct by that standard, or by their private conviction? There will be occasion afterward to observe, that we judge of others as we believe they judge of themselves; and that private conviction is the standard for rewards and punishments (a). But with respect to every controversy about property and pecuniary interest, and, in general, about every civil right and obligation, the common sense of mankind is the standard, and not private conviction or conscience; which I shall endeavour to make out as follows.

We have an innate sense of a common nature, not only in our own species, but in every species of animals. And that the fact corresponds to our sense of it, is verified by experience; for there appears a remarkable uniformity in creatures of the same kind, and a difformity, no less remarkable, in creatures of a different kind. As that common nature is perceived to be a model or standard for each individual of the kind, it raises wonder to find

(a) Sect. 5.

an individual deviating from the common nature of the species, whether in its internal or external structure : a child born with aversion to its mother's milk, is a wonder, no less than if born without a mouth, or with more than one.

Secondly, The innate sense mentioned dictates, that the common nature of man in particular, is invariable as well as universal ; that it will be the same hereafter as it is at present, and as it was in time past, the same among all nations, and in all corners of the earth : nor are we deceived ; because, allowing for slight differences occasioned by culture and other accidental circumstances, the fact corresponds to our perception.

Thirdly, We perceive that this common nature is *right* and *perfect*, and that it *ought* to be a model or standard for every human being. Any remarkable deviation from it in the structure of an individual, appears imperfect or irregular ; and raises a painful emotion : a monstrous birth, exciting curiosity in philosophers, fails not at the same time to excite aversion in every spectator.

This sense of perfection in the common nature of man, comprehends every branch of his nature, and particularly the common sense of mankind with respect to right and wrong ; which accordingly is perceived by all to be perfect, having authority over all men as the ultimate and unerring standard of morals, even in contradiction to private conviction. Thus, a law in our nature binds us to regulate our conduct by that standard : its authority is universally acknowledged, as nothing is more common in every dispute about *meum et tuum*, than an appeal to it as the ultimate and unerring standard.

At the same time, as that standard, through infirmity or prejudice, is not conspicuous to every individual, many are misled into erroneous opinions, by mistaking a false standard for that of nature. And hence a distinction between a right and a wrong sense in morals ; a distinction which every one understands, but
which,

which, unless for the conviction of a moral standard, would be altogether unintelligible.

The final cause of this branch of our nature is conspicuous. Were there no standard of right and wrong for determining endless controversies about matters of interest, the strong would have recourse to force, the weak to cunning, and society would be intolerable. Courts of law could afford no remedy; for without a standard of morals, their decisions would be arbitrary, and of no authority. Happy it is for men to be provided with such a standard: it is necessary in society that our actions be uniform with respect to right and wrong; and in order to uniformity of action, it is necessary that our perceptions of right and wrong be also uniform: to produce such uniformity, a standard of morals is indispensable. Nature has provided us with that standard, which is daily apply'd by courts of law with success.

In reviewing what is said, it must afford great satisfaction, to find morality established upon the most solid of all foundations, viz. intuitive perception, which is not only a single mental act, but is complete in itself, having no dependence on any antecedent proposition. The most accurate reasoning affords not equal conviction; for every sort of reasoning, as explained in the sketch immediately foregoing, requires not only self-evident truths or axioms to found upon, but employs over and above various propositions to bring out its conclusions. By intuitive perception solely, without reasoning, we acquire knowledge of right and wrong; of what we may do, of what we ought to do, and of what we ought to abstain from: and considering that we have thus greater certainty of moral laws, than of any proposition discoverable by reasoning, man may well be deemed a favourite of heaven, when he is so admirably qualified for acting the part that is agreeable to his Maker. The moral sense or conscience is the voice of God within us; constantly admonishing us of our duty, and requiring

quiring from us no exercise of our faculties but attention merely. The celebrated Locke ventured what he thought a bold conjecture, That moral duties might be susceptible of demonstration: how agreeable would the discovery have been to him, that they are founded upon intuitive perception, still more convincing and authoritative!

By one branch of the moral sense, we are taught what we ought to do, and what we ought not to do; and by another branch, what we may do, or leave undone. But society would be imperfect, if the moral sense stopped here. There is no particular that tends more to complete society, than what is mentioned in the first section, viz. That every man is accountable for his conduct to his fellow-creatures; and he is rendered accountable by a third branch of the moral sense, which teaches him, that this is his duty. And it will be made evident afterward, in the 3d sketch, that we are accountable to our Maker, as well as to our fellow-creatures.

To complete this theory, I add, that an action is right or wrong, independent of the actor's own opinion. Thus, when a man, excited by friendship or pity, rescues a heretic from the flames, the action is right, even tho' he think it wrong, from a conviction that heretics ought to be burnt. But we apply a different rule to those who act: a man is approved, and held to be innocent, when he does what he himself thinks right; he is disapproved, and held to be guilty, when he does what he himself thinks wrong. Thus, to assassinate an atheist for the sake of religion, is a wrong action; and yet the enthusiast who commits that wrong, may be innocent: and one is guilty who, against conscience, eats meat in lent, tho' the action is not wrong. In short, an action is perceived to be right or wrong, independent of the actor's own opinion: but he is approved or disapproved, held to be innocent or guilty, according to his own opinion.

S E C T.

S E C T. III.

Laws of Nature respecting our MORAL CONDUCT IN SOCIETY.

A Standard being thus established for regulating our moral conduct in society, we proceed to investigate the laws that result from it. But first we take under consideration, what other principles concur with the moral sense to qualify men for society.

When we reflect on the different branches of human knowledge, it might seem, that of all subjects human nature should be the best understood; because every man has daily opportunities to study it, in his own passions and in his own actions. But human nature, an interesting subject, is seldom left to the investigation of philosophy. Writers of a sweet disposition and warm imagination hold, that man is a benevolent being, and that every man ought to direct his conduct for the good of all, without regarding himself but as one of the number (*a*). Those of a cold temperament, and contracted mind, hold him to be an animal entirely selfish; to evince which, examples are accumulated without end (*b*). Neither of these systems is that of nature. The selfish system is contradicted by the experience of all ages, affording the clearest evidence, that men frequently act for the sake of others, without regarding themselves, and sometimes in direct opposition to their own interest. And however much selfishness may prevail

(*a*) Lord Shaftesbury.

(*b*) Helvetius.

in action, it certainly prevails not in sentiment and affection : all men conspire to put a high estimation upon generosity, benevolence, and other social virtues ; while even the most selfish are disgusted with selfishness in others, and endeavour to hide it in themselves. The most zealous patron of the selfish principle will not venture to maintain, that it renders us altogether indifferent about our fellow-creatures. Laying aside self-interest, with every connection of love and hatred, good fortune happening to any one is agreeable to all, and bad fortune happening to any one is disagreeable to all. On the other hand, the system of universal benevolence, is no less contradictory to experience ; from which we learn, that men commonly are disposed to prefer their own interest before that of others, especially where there is no strict connection : nor do we find that such bias is opposed by the moral sense. Man in fact is a complex being, composed of principles, some benevolent, some selfish : and these principles are so justly blended in his nature, as to fit him for acting a proper part in society. It would indeed be losing time to prove, that without some affection for his fellow-creatures he would be ill qualified for society. And it will be made evident afterward (a), that universal benevolence would be more hurtful to society, than even absolute selfishness *.

(a) Sect. 4.

* “ Many moralists enter so deeply into one passion or bias of human nature, that, to use the painter’s phrase, they quite overcharge it. Thus I have seen a whole system of morals founded upon a single pillar of the inward frame ; and the entire conduct of life, and all the characters in it, accounted for, sometimes from superstition, sometimes from pride, and most commonly from interest. They forget how various a creature it is they are painting ; how many springs and weights, nicely adjusted and balanced, enter into the movement, and require allowance to be made for their several clogs and impulses, ere you can define its operation and effects.” *Enquiry into the life and writings of Homer.*

We are now prepared for investigating the laws that result from the foregoing principles. The several duties we owe to others shall be first discussed, taking them in order, according to the extent of their influence. And for the sake of perspicuity, I shall first present them in a general view, and then proceed to particulars. Of our duties to others, one there is so extensive, as to have for its object all the innocent part of mankind. It is the duty that prohibits us to hurt others : than which no law is more clearly dictated by the moral sense ; nor is the transgression of any other law more deeply stamped with the character of wrong. A man may be hurt externally in his goods, in his person, in his relations, and in his reputation. Hence the laws, Do not steal ; Defraud not others ; Do not kill nor wound ; Be not guilty of defamation. A man may be hurt internally, by an action that occasions to him distress of mind, or by being impressed with false notions of men and things. Therefore conscience dictates, that we ought not to treat men disrespectfully ; that we ought not causelessly to alienate their affections from others ; and, in general, that we ought to forbear whatever may tend to break their peace of mind, or tend to unqualify them for being good men, and good citizens.

The duties mentioned are duties of restraint. Our active duties regard particular persons ; such as our relations, our friends, our benefactors, our masters, our servants. It is our duty to honour and obey our parents ; and to establish our children in the world with all advantages internal and external : we ought to be faithful to our friends, grateful to our benefactors, submissive to our masters, kind to our servants, and to aid and comfort every one of these persons when in distress. To be obliged to do good to others beyond these bounds, must depend on positive engagement ; for, as will appear afterward, universal benevolence is not a duty.

This

This general sketch will prepare us for particulars. The duty of restraint comes first in view, that which bars us from harming the innocent; and to it corresponds a right in the innocent to be safe from harm. This is the great law preparatory to society; because without it, society could never have existed. Here the moral sense is inflexible: it dictates, that we ought to submit to any distress, even death itself, rather than procure our own safety by laying violent hands upon an innocent person. And we are under the same restraint with respect to the property of another; for robbery and theft are never upon any pretext indulged. It is indeed true, that in extreme hunger I may lawfully take food where it can be found; and may freely lay hold of my neighbour's horse, to carry me from an enemy who threatens death. But it is his duty as a fellow-creature to assist me in distress; and when there is no time for delay, I may lawfully use what he ought to offer were he present, and what I may presume he would offer. For the same reason, if in a storm my ship be driven among the anchor-ropes of another ship, I may lawfully cut the ropes in order to get free. But in every case of this kind, it would be a wrong in me to use my neighbour's property, without resolving to pay the value. If my neighbour be bound to aid me in distress, conscience binds me to make up his loss *.

The

* This doctrine is obviously founded on justice; and yet, in the Roman law, there are two passages which deny any recompence in such cases. "Item Labeo scribit, si cum vi ventorum navis impulsæ esset in funes anchorarum alterius, et nautæ funes præcidissent; si nullo alio modo, nisi præcisus funibus, explicare se potuit, nullam actionem dandam;" l. 29. § 3. *ad leg. Aquil.* "Quod dicitur *damnum injuria datum Aquilia persequi*, sic erit accipiendum, ut videatur *damnum injuria datum* quod cum damno injuriam attulerit; nisi magna vi cogente, fuerit factum. Ut Celsus scribit circa eum, qui incendii arcendi gratia vicinas ædes intercidit: et si pervenit ignis, si ante extinctus est, existimat legis A-

The prohibition of hurting others internally, is perhaps not essential to the formation of societies, because the transgression of that law doth not much alarm plain people: but where manners and refined sentiments prevail, the mind is susceptible of more grievous wounds than the body; and therefore, without that law, a polished society could have no long endurance.

By adultery, mischief is done both external and internal. Each sex is so constituted, as to require strict fidelity and attachment in a mate: and the breach of these duties is the greatest external harm that can befall them: it harms them also internally, by breaking their peace of mind. It has indeed been urged, that no harm will ensue, if the adultery be kept secret; and consequently, that there can be no crime where there is no discovery. But such as reason thus do not advert, that to declare secret adultery to be lawful, is in effect to overturn every foundation of mutual trust and fidelity in the married state. It is clear beyond all doubt, says a reputable writer, that no man is permitted to violate his

“*quiliæ actionem cessare.*” l. 49. § 1. *cod.* — [*In English thus*: “In the opinion of Labeo, if a ship is driven by the violence of a tempest among the anchor-ropes of another ship, and the sailors cut the ropes, having no other means of getting free, there is no action competent. — The Aquilian law must be understood to apply only to such damage as carries the idea of an injury along with it, unless such injury has not been wilfully done, but from necessity. Thus Celsus puts the case of a person who, to stop the progress of a fire, pulls down his neighbour’s house; and whether the fire had reached that house which is pulled down, or was extinguished before it got to it, in neither case, he thinks, will an action be competent from the Aquilian law.”] — These opinions are undoubtedly erroneous. And it is not difficult to say what has occasioned the error: the cases mentioned are treated as belonging to the *lex Aquilia*; which being confined to the reparation of wrongs, lays it justly down for a rule, That no action for reparation can lie, where there is no *culpa*. But had Labeo and Celsus adverted, that these cases belong to a different head, viz. the duty of recompense, where one suffers loss by benefiting another, they themselves would have had no difficulty of sustaining a claim for making up that loss.

faith;

faith ; and that the man is unjust and barbarous who deprives his wife of the only reward she has for adhering to the austere duties of her sex. But an unfaithful wife is still more criminal, by dissolving the whole ties of nature : in giving to her husband children that are not his, she betrays both, and joins perfidy to infidelity (a).

Veracity is commonly ranked among the active duties ; but erroneously : for if a man be not bound to speak, he cannot be bound to speak truth. It is therefore only a restraining duty, prohibiting us to deceive others, by affirming what is not true. Among the many corresponding principles in the human mind that in conjunction tend to make society comfortable, a principle of veracity *, and a principle that leads us to rely on human testimony, are two : without the latter, the former would be an useless principle ; and without the former, the latter would lay us open to fraud and treachery. The moral sense accordingly dictates, that we ought to adhere strictly to truth, without regard to consequences.

It must not be inferred, that we are bound to explain our thoughts, when truth is demanded from us by unlawful means. Words uttered voluntarily, are naturally relied on, as expressing the speaker's mind ; and if his mind differ from his words, he tells a lie, and is guilty of deceit. But words drawn from a man

(a) Emile, liv. 5.

* Truth is always uppermost, being the natural issue of the mind : it requires no art nor training, no inducement nor temptation, but only that we yield to natural impulse. Lying, on the contrary, is doing violence to our nature ; and is never practised, even by the worst of men, without some temptation. Speaking truth is like using our natural food, which we would do from appetite altho' it answered no end : lying is like taking physic, which is nauseous to the taste, and which no man takes but for some end which he cannot otherwise attain. *Dr Reid's Enquiry into the human mind.*

by

by torture, are no indication of his mind ; and he is not guilty of deceit in uttering whatever words may be agreeable, however alien from his thoughts : if the author of the unlawful violence suffer himself to be deceived, he ought to blame himself, not the speaker.

It need scarce be mentioned, that the duty of veracity excludes not fable, nor any liberty of speech intended for amusement solely.

Active duties, as hinted above, are all of them directed to particular persons. And the first I shall mention is, that which subsists between a parent and child. The relation of parent and child, the strongest that can exist between individuals, binds these persons to exert their utmost powers in mutual good offices. Benevolence among other blood-relations, is also a duty ; but not so indispensable, being proportioned to the inferior degree of relation.

Gratitude is a duty directed to the person who has been kind to us. But tho' gratitude is strictly a duty, the measure of performance, and the kind, are left mostly to our own choice. It is scarce necessary to add, that the active duties now mentioned, are acknowledged by all to be absolutely inflexible, perhaps more so than the restraining duties : many find excuses for doing harm ; but no one hears with patience an excuse for deviating from truth, friendship, or gratitude.

Distress tends to convert benevolence into a duty. But distress alone is not sufficient, without other concurring circumstances : for to relieve every person in distress, is beyond the power of any human being. Our relations in distress claim that duty from us, and even our neighbours : but distant distress, without a particular connection, scarce rouses our sympathy, and never is an object of duty. Many other connections, too numerous for this short essay, extend the duty of relieving others from distress ; and these

these make a large branch of equity. Tho' in various instances, benevolence is thus converted into a duty by distress, it follows not, that the duty is always proportioned to the degree of distress. Nature has more wisely provided for the support of virtue. A virtuous person in distress commands our pity : a vicious person in distress has much less influence ; and if by vice he have brought on the distress, indignation is raised, not pity (*a*).

One great advantage of society, is the co-operation of many to accomplish some useful work, where a single hand would be insufficient. Arts, manufactures, and commercial dealings, require many hands : but as hands cannot be secured without a previous engagement, the performance of promises and covenants is, upon that account, a capital duty in society. In their original occupations of hunting and fishing, men living scattered and dispersed, have seldom opportunity to aid and benefit each other ; and in that situation, covenants being of little use, are little regarded : but husbandry requiring the co-operation of many hands, draws men together for mutual assistance ; and then covenants make a figure : arts and commerce make them more and more necessary ; and in a polished society great regard is paid to them.

But contracts and promises are not confined to commercial dealings : they serve also to make benevolence a duty ; and are even extended to connect the living with the dead : a man would die with regret, if he thought his friends were not bound by their promises, to fulfil his will after his death : and to quiet the minds of men with respect to futurity, the moral sense makes the performing such promises our duty. Thus, if I promise to my friend to erect a monument for him after his death, conscience binds me, even tho' no person alive be entitled to demand performance : every one perceives this to be my duty ; and I must expect to suffer reproach and blame, if I neglect my engagement.

(*a*) See Elements of Criticism, vol. 1. p. 187. edit. 5.

To fulfil a rational promise or covenant, deliberately made, is a duty no less inflexible than those duties are which arise independent of consent. But as man is fallible, often misled by ignorance or error, and liable to be deceived, his condition would be deplorable, did the moral sense compel him to fulfil every engagement, however imprudent or irrational. Here the moral sense gives way to human infirmity: it relieves from deceit, from imposition, from ignorance, from error; and binds a man by no engagement but what answers the end fairly intended.

The other branch of duties, viz. those we owe to ourselves, shall be discussed in a few words. *Propriety*, a branch of the moral sense, regulates our conduct with respect to ourselves; as *Justice*, another branch of the moral sense, regulates our conduct with respect to others. Propriety dictates, that we ought to act up to the dignity of our nature, and to the station allotted us by Providence: it dictates in particular, that temperance, prudence, modesty, and uniformity of conduct, are self-duties. These duties contribute to private happiness, by preserving health, peace of mind, and self-esteem; which are inestimable blessings: they contribute no less to happiness in society, by gaining the love and esteem of others, and aid and support in time of need.

Upon reviewing the foregoing duties respecting others, we find them more or less extensive; but none so extensive as to have for their end the good of mankind in general. The most extensive duty is that of restraint, prohibiting us to harm others: but even that duty has a limited end; for its purpose is only to protect others from mischief, not to do them any positive good. The active duties of doing positive good are circumscribed within still narrower bounds, requiring some relation that connects us with others; such as those of parent, child, friend, benefactor. The slighter relations, unless in peculiar circumstances, are not the foundation of any active duty: neighbourhood, for example, does
not

not alone make benevolence a duty : but supposing a neighbour to be in distress, it becomes our duty to relieve him, if it can be done without distress to ourselves. The duty of relieving from distress, seldom goes farther ; for tho' we always sympathise with our relations, and with those, under our eye, the distress of persons remote and unknown affects us very little. Passions and agreements become necessary, if we would extend the duty of benevolence, in any particular, beyond the limits mentioned. Men, it is true, are capable of doing more good than is required of them as a duty ; but every such good must be a free-will offering.

And this leads to arbitrary actions, viz. those that may be done or left undone ; which make the second general head of moral actions. With respect to these, the moral sense leaves us at freedom : a benevolent act is approved, but the omission is not condemned. This holds strictly in single acts ; but in viewing the whole of a man's conduct, the moral sense appears to vary a little. As the nature of man is complex, partly social, partly selfish, we have an intuitive perception, that our conduct ought to be conformable to our nature ; and that in advancing our own interest, we ought not altogether to neglect that of others. The man accordingly who confines his whole time and thoughts within his own little sphere, is condemned by all the world as guilty of wrong conduct ; and the man himself, if his moral perceptions be not blunted by selfishness, must be sensible that he deserves to be condemned. On the other hand, it is possible that free benevolence may be extended beyond proper bounds. The just temperament is a subordination of benevolence to self-love : but where benevolence prevails, it commonly leads to excess, by prompting a man to sacrifice a great interest of his own to a small interest of others ; and the moral sense dictates, that such conduct is wrong.

Thus, moral actions are divided into two classes : the first re-

gards our duty, containing actions that ought to be done, and actions that ought not to be done ; the other regards arbitrary actions, containing actions that are right when done, but not wrong when left undone. The well-being of society depends more on the first class than on the second : society is indeed promoted by the latter ; but it can scarce subsist, unless the former be made our duty. Hence it is, that actions only of the first class are made indispensable ; those of the other class being left to our free-will. And hence also it is, that the various propensities that dispose us to actions of the first sort, are distinguished by the name of *primary virtues* ; leaving the name of *secondary virtues* to those propensities which dispose us to actions of the other sort *.

The deduction above given makes it evident, that the general tendency of right actions is to promote the good of society, and of wrong actions, to obstruct that good. Universal benevolence is indeed not required of man ; because to put that principle in practice, is beyond his utmost abilities. But for promoting the general good, every thing is required of him that he can accomplish ; which will appear from reviewing the foregoing duties. The prohibition of harming others is an easy task ; and upon that account is made universal. Our active duties are very different : man is circumscribed both in capacity and power : he cannot do good but in a slow succession ; and therefore it is wisely ordered, that his obligation to do good should be confined to his relations, his friends, his benefactors. Even distress makes not benevolence a general duty : all a man can readily do, is to relieve those at hand ; and accordingly we hear of distant misfortunes with little or no concern.

* Virtue signifies that disposition of mind which gives the ascendant to moral principles. Vice signifies that disposition of mind which gives little or no ascendant to moral principles.

At the same time, let not the moral system be misapprehended, as if it were our duty, or even lawful, to prosecute what upon the whole we reckon the most beneficial to society, balancing ill with good. The moral sense permits not a violation of any person's right, however trivial, whatever benefit may thereby accrue to another. A man, for example, in low circumstances, by denying a debt he owes to a rich miser, saves himself and a hopeful family from ruin. In that case, the good effect far outweighs the ill, or rather has no counterbalance: but the moral sense permits not the debtor to balance ill with good; nor gives countenance to an unjust act, whatever benefit it may produce. And hence a maxim in which all moralists agree, That we must not do ill to bring about even the greatest good; the final cause of which shall be given below (a).

S E C T. IV.

Principles of DUTY and of BENEVOLENCE.

HAVING thus shortly delineated the moral laws of our nature, we proceed to an article of great importance, which is, to enquire into the means provided by our Maker for compelling obedience to these laws. The moral sense is an unerring guide; but the most expert guide will not profit those who are not disposed to follow. This consideration makes it evident, that to com-

(a) Sect. 7.

plete the moral system, we ought to be endued with some principle or propensity, some impulsive power, to enforce obedience to the laws dictated by the moral sense.

The author of our nature leaves none of his works imperfect. In order to render us obsequious to the moral sense as our guide, he hath implanted in our nature the principles of duty, of benevolence, of rewards and punishments, and of reparation. It may possibly be thought, that rewards and punishments, of which afterward, are sufficient of themselves to enforce the laws of nature, without necessity of any other principle. Human laws, it is true, are enforced by these means ; because no higher sanction is under command of a terrestrial legislator. But the celestial legislator, with power that knows no control, and benevolence that knows no bounds, hath enforced his laws by means no less remarkable for mildness than for efficacy : he employs no external compulsion ; but, in order to engage our will on the right side, hath in the breast of every individual established the principles of duty and of benevolence, which efficaciously excite us to obey the dictates of the moral sense.

As the restraining, as well as active duties, are essential to society, our Maker has wisely ordered, that the principle which enforces these several duties, should be the most cogent of all that belong to our nature. Other principles may solicit, allure, or terrify ; but the principle of duty assumes authority, commands, and must be obey'd.

As one great purpose of society, is to furnish opportunities without end of mutual aid and support, nature seconding that purpose, hath provided the principle of benevolence ; which excites us to be kindly, beneficent, and generous. Nor ought it to escape observation, that the author of nature, attentive to our wants and to our well-being, hath endued us with a liberal portion of that principle. It enforces benevolence, not only to those we are connected

ned with, but to our neighbours, and even to those we are barely acquainted with. Providence is peculiarly attentive to objects in distress, who require immediate aid and relief. To the general principle of benevolence, it hath superadded the passion of pity, which in every feeling heart is irresistible. To make benevolence more extensive, would be fruitless, because here are objects in plenty to fill the most capacious mind. It would not be fruitless only, but hurtful to society: I say hurtful; for inability to procure gratification, rendering benevolence a troublesome guest, would weaken the principle itself, and attach us the more to selfishness, which we can always gratify. At the same time, tho' there is not room for greater variety of particular objects, yet the faculty we have of uniting numberless individuals in one complex object, enlarges greatly the sphere of benevolence: by that faculty our country, our government, our religion, become objects of public spirit, and of a lively affection. The individuals that compose the group, considered apart, may be too minute, or too distant, for our benevolence; but when comprehended in one great whole, accumulation makes them great, greatness renders them conspicuous; and affection, preserved entire and undivided, is bestow'd upon an abstract object, as upon one that is single and visible; but with much greater energy, being proportioned to its superior dignity and importance. Thus it appears, that the principle of benevolence is not too sparingly scattered among men. It is indeed made subordinate to self-interest, which is wisely ordered, as will afterward be made evident (a); but its power and extent are nicely proportioned to the limited capacity of man, and to his situation in this world; so as better to fulfil its destination, than if it were an overmatch for self-interest, and for every other principle.

(a) Sect. 7.

S E C T. V.

Laws respecting REWARDS and PUNISHMENTS.

REflecting on the moral branch of our nature, qualifying us for society in a manner suited to our capacity, we cannot overlook the hand of our Maker ; for means so finely adjusted to an important end, never happen by chance. It must however be acknowledged, that in many individuals, the principle of duty has not vigour nor authority sufficient to stem every tide of unruly passion : by the vigilance of some passions, we are taken unguarded ; deluded by the sly insinuations of others ; or overwhelmed with the stormy impetuosity of a third sort. Moral evil is thus introduced, and much wrong is done. This new scene suggests to us, that there must be some article still wanting, to complete the moral system. The means provided for directing us in the road of duty have been explained : but as in deviating from the road wrongs are committed, nothing hitherto has been said, about redressing such wrongs, nor about preventing the reiteration of them. To accomplish these important ends, there are added to the moral system, laws relative to rewards and punishments, and to reparation ; of which in their order.

Many animals are qualified for society by instinct merely ; such as beavers, sheep, monkeys, bees, rooks. But men are seldom led by instinct : their actions are commonly prompted by passions ; of which there is an endless variety, social and selfish, benevolent and malevolent. And were every passion equally intitled to gratification,

Even the most secret crime escapes not punishment. The delinquent is tortured with remorse: he even desires to be punished; sometimes so ardently, as himself to be the executioner. There cannot be imagined a contrivance more effectual, to deter one from vice; for remorse is itself a grievous punishment. Self-punishment goes still farther: every criminal, sensible that he ought to be punished, dreads punishment from others; and this dread, however smothered during prosperity, breaks out in adversity, or in depression of mind: his crime stares him in the face, and every accidental misfortune is in his disturbed imagination interpreted to be a punishment: "And they said one to another, We are verily guilty concerning our brother, in that we saw the anguish of his soul, when he besought us; and we would not hear: therefore is this distress come upon us. And Reuben answered them, saying, Spake I not unto you, saying, Do not sin against the child; and ye would not hear? therefore behold also his blood is required (a) " *.

No

(a) Genesis xlii. 21.

* John Duke of Britany, commonly termed *the Good Duke*, illustrious for generosity, clemency, and piety, reigned forty-three years, wholly employ'd about the good of his subjects. He was succeeded by his eldest son Francis, a prince weak and suspicious, and consequently fit to be governed. Arthur of Montauban, in love with the wife of Gilles, brother to the Duke, persuaded the Duke that his brother was laying plots to dethrone him. Gilles being imprisoned, the Duke's best friends conjured him to pity his unhappy brother, who might be imprudent, but assuredly was innocent; but in vain. Gilles being prosecuted before the three estates of the province for high treason, was unanimously absolved; which irritated the Duke more and more. Arthur of Montauban artfully suggested to his master to try poison; which having miscarried, they next resolved to starve the prisoner to death. The unfortunate prince, through the bars of a window, cried aloud for bread; but the passengers durst not supply him. One poor woman only had courage more than once to slip some bread within the window. He charged

No transgression of self-duty escapes punishment, more than transgression of duty to others. The punishments, tho' not the same, differ in degree more than in kind. Injustice is punished with remorse : impropriety with shame, which is remorse in a lower degree. Injustice raises indignation in the beholder, and so doth every flagrant impropriety : flighter improprieties receive a milder punishment, being rebuked with some degree of contempt, and commonly with derision (a).

So far we have been led in a beaten track ; but in attempting to proceed, we are entangled in mazes and intricacies. An action well intended, may happen to produce no good ; and an action ill intended, may happen to produce no mischief : a man overawed by fear, may be led to do mischief against his will ; and a person, mistaking the standard of right and wrong, may be innocently led to do acts of injustice. By what rule, in such cases, are rewards and punishments to be apply'd ? Ought a man to be rewarded when he does no good, or punished when he does no mischief : ought he to be punished for doing mischief against his will,

a priest, who had received his confession, to declare to the Duke, " That seeing justice was refused him in this world, he appealed to Heaven, and called upon the Duke to appear before the judgement-seat of God in forty days." The Duke and his favourite, amazed that the prince lived so long without nourishment, employ'd assassins to smother him with his bed-cloaths. The priest, in obedience to the orders he had received, presented himself before the Duke, and with a loud voice cited him in name of the deceased Lord Gilles to appear before God in forty days. Shame and remorse verified the prediction. The Duke was seized with a sudden terror ; and the image of his brother, expiring by his orders, haunted him day and night. He decay'd daily without any marks of a regular disease, and died within the forty days in frightful agony.

See this subject further illustrated in the *Sketch Principles and Progress of Theology*, chap. 1.

(a) See Elements of Criticism, chap. 10.

A crime against any primary virtue is attended with severe and never-failing punishment, more efficacious than any that have been invented to enforce municipal laws : on the other hand, the preserving primary virtues inviolate, is attended with little merit. The secondary virtues are directly opposite : the neglecting them is not attended with any punishment ; but the practice of them is attended with illustrious rewards. Offices of undeserved kindness, returns of good for ill, generous toils and sufferings for our friends or for our country, are attended with consciousness of self-merit, and with universal praise and admiration ; the highest rewards human nature is susceptible of.

From what is said, the following observation will occur : The pain of transgressing justice, fidelity, or any duty, is much greater than the pleasure of performing ; but the pain of neglecting a generous action, or any secondary virtue, is as nothing, compared with the pleasure of performing. Among the vices opposite to the primary virtues, the most striking moral deformity is found ; among the secondary virtues, the most striking moral beauty.

tions were in vigour. The following passage is from Hales (*Pleas of the Crown*, chap. 39.) “ Regularly he that voluntarily and knowingly intends hurt to the person of a man, as for example to beat him, tho’ he intend not death, yet if death ensues, it excuseth not from the guilt of murder, or manslaughter at least, as the circumstances of the case happen.” And Foster, in his *Crown-law*, teaches the same doctrine, never once suspecting in it the least deviation from moral principles. “ A shooteth at the poultry of B, and by accident killeth a man : if his intention was to steal the poultry, which must be collected from circumstances, it will be murder by reason of that felonious intent ; but if it was done wantonly, and without that intention, it will be barely manslaughter.” (p. 259.)

S E C T. VI.

Laws respecting REPARATION.

THE principle of reparation is made a branch of the moral system for accomplishing two ends: which are, to repress wrongs that are not criminal, and to make up the loss sustained by wrongs of whatever kind. With respect to the former, reparation is a species of punishment: with respect to the latter, it is an act of justice. These ends will be better understood, after ascertaining the nature and foundation of reparation; to which the following division of actions is necessary. First, actions that we are bound to perform. Second, actions that we perform in prosecution of a right or privilege. Third, indifferent actions, described above. Actions of the first kind subject not a man to reparation, whatever damage ensues; because it is his duty to perform them, and it would be inconsistent with morality that a man should be subjected to reparation for doing his duty. The laws of reparation that concern actions of the second kind, are more complex. The social state, highly beneficial by affording opportunity for mutual good offices, is attended with some inconveniencies; as where a person happens to be in a situation of necessarily harming others by exercising a right or privilege. If the foresight of harming another, restrain me not from exercising my right, the interest of that other is made subservient to mine: on the other hand, if such foresight restrain me from exercising my right, my interest is made subservient to his. What doth the moral sense provide in
that

that case? To preserve as far as possible an equality among persons born free, and by nature equal in rank, the moral sense lays down a rule, no less beautiful than salutary; which is, That the exercising a right will not justify me for doing direct mischief; but will justify me, tho' I foresee that mischief may possibly happen. The first branch of the rule resolves into a proposition established above, viz. That no interest of mine, not even life itself, will authorise me to hurt an innocent person. The other branch is supported by expediency: for if the bare possibility of hurting others were sufficient to restrain a man from prosecuting his rights and privileges, men would be too much cramped in action; or rather would be reduced to a state of absolute inactivity. -With respect to the first branch, I am criminal, and liable even to punishment: with respect to the other, I am not even culpable, nor bound to repair the mischief that happens to ensue.

With respect to the third kind, viz. indifferent actions, the moral sense dictates, that we ought carefully to avoid doing mischief, either direct or consequential. As we suffer no loss by forbearing actions that are done for pastime merely, such an action is *culpable* or *faulty*, if the consequent mischief was foreseen or might have been foreseen; and the actor of course is subjected to reparation. As this is a cardinal point in the doctrine of reparation, I shall endeavour to explain it more fully. Without intending any harm, a man may foresee, that what he is about to do will probably or possibly produce mischief; and sometimes mischief follows that was neither intended nor foreseen. The action in the former case is not criminal; because ill intention is essential to a crime: but it is culpable or faulty; and if mischief ensue, the actor blames himself, and is blamed by others, for having done what he ought not to have done. Thus, a man who throws a large stone among a crowd of people, is highly culpable; because he must foresee that mischief will probably ensue, tho' he has no intention

intention to hurt any person. As to the latter case, tho' mischief was neither intended nor foreseen, yet if it might have been foreseen, the action is rash or uncautious, and consequently culpable or faulty in some degree. Thus, if a man in pulling down an old house, happen to wound one passing accidentally, without calling aloud to keep out of the way, the action is in some degree culpable, because the mischief might have been foreseen. But tho' mischief ensue, an action is not culpable or faulty if all reasonable precaution have been adhibited: the moral sense declares the author to be innocent * and blameless: the mischief is accidental, and the action may be termed *unlucky*, but comes not under the denomination of either right or wrong. In general, when we act merely for amusement, our nature makes us answerable for the harm that ensues, if it was either foreseen or might with due attention have been foreseen. But our rights and privileges would profit us little, if their exercise were put under the same restraint: it is more wisely ordered, that the probability of mischief, even foreseen, should not restrain a man from prosecuting his concerns, which may often be of consequence to him. He proceeds accordingly with a safe conscience, and is not afraid of being blamed either by God or man.

With respect to rash or uncautious actions, where the mischief might have been foreseen tho' not actually foreseen, it is not sufficient to escape blame, that a man, naturally rash or inattentive, acts according to his character: a degree of precaution is required, both by himself and by others, such as is natural to the generality of men: he perceives that he might and *ought* to have acted more cautiously; and his conscience reproaches him for his inattention,

* *Innocent* here is opposed to *culpable*: in a broader sense it is opposed to *criminal*. With respect to punishment, an action tho' culpable is innocent, if it be not criminal: with respect to reparation, it is not innocent if it be culpable.

no less than if he were naturally more sedate and attentive. Thus the circumspection natural to mankind in general, is applied as a standard to every individual; and if they fall short of that standard, they are culpable and blameable, however unforeseen by them the mischief may have been.

What is said upon culpable actions is equally applicable to culpable omissions; for by these also mischief may be occasioned, entitling the sufferer to reparation. If we forbear to do our duty with an intention to occasion mischief, the forbearance is criminal. The only question is, how far forbearance without such intention is culpable. Supposing the probability of mischief to have been foreseen, tho' not intended, the omission is highly culpable; and tho' neither intended nor foreseen, yet the omission is culpable in a lower degree, if there have been less care and attention than are proper for performing the duty required. But supposing all due care, the omission of extreme care and diligence is not culpable.

By ascertaining what acts and omissions are culpable or faulty, the doctrine of reparation is rendered extremely simple; for it may be laid down as a rule without a single exception, That every culpable act, and every culpable omission, binds us in conscience to repair the mischief occasioned by it. The moral sense binds us no farther; for it loads not with reparation the man who is blameless and innocent: the harm is accidental; and we are so constituted as not to be responsible in conscience for what happens by accident. But here it is requisite, that the man be in every respect innocent: for if he intend harm, tho' not what he has done, he will find himself bound in conscience to repair the accidental harm he has done; as, for example, when aiming a blow unjustly at one in the dark, he happens to wound another whom he did not suspect to be there. And hence it is a rule in all municipal laws, That one *versans in illicito* is liable to repair every consequent

sequent damage. That these particulars are wisely ordered by the Author of our nature for the good of society, will appear afterward (a). In general, the rules above mentioned are dictated by the moral sense; and we are compelled to obey them by the principle of reparation.

We are now prepared for a more particular inspection of the two ends of reparation above mentioned, viz. the repressing wrongs that are not criminal, and the making up what loss is sustained by wrongs of whatever kind. With respect to the first, it is clear, that punishment, in its proper sense, cannot be inflicted for a wrong that is culpable only; and if nature did not provide some means for repressing such wrongs, society would scarce be a comfortable state. Laying conscience aside, pecuniary reparation is the only remedy that can be provided against culpable omissions: and with respect to culpable commissions, the necessity of reparation is still more apparent; for conscience alone, without the sanction of reparation, would seldom have authority sufficient to restrain us from acting rashly or uncautiously, even where the possibility of mischief is foreseen, and far less where it is not foreseen.

With respect to the second end of reparation, my conscience dictates to me, that if a man suffer by my fault, whether the mischief was foreseen or not foreseen, it is my duty to make up his loss; and I perceive intuitively, that the loss ought to rest ultimately upon me, and not upon the sufferer, who has not been culpable in any degree.

In every case where the mischief done can be estimated by a pecuniary compensation, the two ends of reparation coincide. The sum is taken from the one as a sort of punishment for his fault,

(a) Sect. 7.

and is bestow'd on the other to make up the loss he has sustained. But in numberless cases where mischief done cannot be compensated with money, reparation is in its nature a sort of punishment. Defamation, contemptuous treatment, personal restraint, the breaking one's peace of mind, are injuries that cannot be repaired by money ; and the pecuniary reparation decreed against the wrong-doer, can only be a sort of punishment, in order to deter him from reiterating such injuries : the sum, it is true, is awarded to the person injured ; but not as sufficient to make up his loss, which money cannot do, but only as a *solatium* for what he has suffered.

Hitherto it is supposed, that the man who intends a wrong action, is, at the same time, conscious of its being so. But a man may intend a wrong action, thinking erroneously that it is right ; or a right action, thinking erroneously that it is wrong ; and the question is, What shall be the consequence of such errors with respect to reparation. The latter case is clear : the person who occasionally suffers loss by a right action, has not a claim for reparation, because he has no just cause of complaint. On the other hand, if the action be wrong, the innocence of the author, for which he is indebted to an error in judgement, will not relieve him from reparation. When he is made sensible of his error, he feels himself bound in conscience to repair the harm he has done by a wrong action : and others, sensible of his error from the beginning, have the same feeling : nor will his obstinacy in resisting conviction, or his dullness in not apprehending his error, mend the matter : it is well that these defects relieve him from punishment, without wronging others by denying a claim for reparation. A man's errors ought to affect himself only, and not those who have not erred. Hence in general, reparation always follows wrong ; and is not affected by any erroneous opinion of a wrong action being right, more than of a right action being wrong.

But

But this doctrine suffers an exception with respect to a man, who, having undertaken a trust, is bound in duty to act. A judge is in that situation: it is his duty to pronounce sentence in every case that comes before him; and if he judge according to the best of his knowledge, he is not liable for consequences. A judge cannot be subjected to reparation, unless it can be verified, that the judgement he gave was intentionally wrong. An officer of the revenue is in the same predicament. Led by a doubtful clause in a statute, he makes a seizure of goods as forfeited to the crown, which afterward, in the proper court, are found not to be seizable. The officer ought not to be subjected to reparation, if he have acted to the best of his judgement. This rule however must be taken with a limitation: a public officer who is grossly erroneous, will not be excused; for he ought to know better.

Reparation is due, tho' the immediate act be involuntary, provided it be connected with a preceding voluntary act. Example: "If A ride an unruly horse in Lincolns-inn fields, to tame him, and the horse breaking from A, run over B and grievously hurt him; B shall have an action against A: for tho' the mischief was done against the will of A, yet since it was his fault to bring a wild horse into a frequented place, where mischief might ensue, he must answer for the consequences." Gaius seems to carry this rule still farther, holding in general, that if a horse, by the weakness or unskilfulness of the rider, break away and do mischief, the rider is liable (a). But Gaius probably had in his eye a frequented place, where the mischief might have been foreseen. Thus in general a man is made liable for the mischief occasioned by his voluntary deed, tho' the immediate act that occasioned the mischief be involuntary.

(a) l. 8. § 1. ad leg. Aquil.

S E C T. VII.

FINAL CAUSES *of the foregoing Laws of Nature.*

Several final causes have been occasionally mentioned in preceding parts of this essay, which could not conveniently be reserved for the present section, being necessary for explaining the subjects to which they relate, the final cause for instance of erecting a standard of morals upon the common sense of mankind. I proceed now to what have not been mentioned, or but slightly mentioned.

The final cause that presents itself first to view, respects man considered as an accountable being. The sense of being accountable, is one of our most vigilant guards against the silent attacks of vice. When a temptation moves me, it immediately occurs, What will the world say? I imagine my friends expostulating, my enemies reviling — I dare not dissemble — my spirits sink — the temptation vanishes. 2dly, Praise and blame, especially from those we regard, are strong incentives to virtue: but if we were not accountable for our conduct, praise and blame would be seldom well directed; for how shall a man's intentions be known, without calling him to account? And praise or blame, frequently ill-directed, would lose their influence. 3dly, This branch of our nature, is the corner-stone of the criminal law. Did not a man think himself accountable to all the world, and to his judge in a peculiar manner, it would be natural for him to think, that the justest sentence pronounced against him, is oppression, not justice.

stice. 4thly, This branch is a strong cement to society. If we were not accountable beings, those connected by blood, or by country, would be no less shy and reserved, than if they were mere strangers to each other.

The final cause that next occurs, being simple and obvious, is mentioned only that it may not seem to have been overlooked. All right actions are agreeable, all wrong actions disagreeable. This is a wise appointment of Providence. We meet with so many temptations against duty, that it is not always an easy task to persevere in the right path: would we persevere, were duty disagreeable? And were acts of pure benevolence disagreeable, they would be extremely rare, however worthy of praise.

Another final cause respects duty, in contradistinction to pure benevolence. All the moral laws are founded on intuitive perception; and are so simple and plain, as to be perfectly apprehended by the most ignorant. Were they in any degree complex or obscure, they would be perverted by selfishness and prejudice. No conviction inferior to what is afforded by intuitive perception, could produce in mankind a common sense with respect to moral duties. Reason would afford no general conviction; because that faculty is distributed in portions so unequal, as to bar all hopes from it of uniformity either in practice or in opinion. At the same time, we are taught by woful experience, that reason has little influence over the greater part of men. Reason, it is true; aided by experience, supports morality, by convincing us, that we cannot be happy if we abandon duty for any other interest. But conviction seldom weighs much against imperious passion; to control which the vigorous and commanding principle of duty is requisite, directed by the shining light of intuition.

A proposition laid down above appears to be a sort of mystery in the moral system, viz. That tho' evidently all moral duties are contrived for promoting the general good, yet that choice is not permitted

permitted among different goods, or between good and ill ; and that we are strictly tied down to perform or forbear certain particular acts, without regard to consequences ; or, in other words, that we must not do wrong, whatever good it may produce. The final cause, which I am about to unfold, will clear this mystery, and set the beauty of the moral system in a conspicuous light. I begin with observing, that as the general good of mankind, or even of the society we live in, results from many and various circumstances intricately combined, it is far above the capacity of man, to judge in every instance what particular actions will tend the most to that end. The authorising therefore a man to trace out his duty, by weighing endless circumstances good and ill, would open a wide door to partiality and passion, and often lead him unwittingly to prefer the preponderating ill, under a false appearance of being the greater good. At that rate, the opinions of men about right and wrong, would be as various as their faces ; which, as observed above, would totally unhinge society. It is better ordered by Providence, even for the general good, that, avoiding complex and obscure objects, we are directed by the moral sense to perform certain plain and simple acts, which are obvious to us by intuitive perception.

In the next place, To permit ill in order to produce greater good, may suit a being of universal benevolence ; but is repugnant to the nature of man, composed of selfish and benevolent principles. We have seen above, that the true moral balance depends on a subordination of self-love to duty, and of arbitrary benevolence to self-love ; and accordingly every man is sensible of injustice when he is hurt in order to benefit another. Were it a rule in society, That a greater good to any other would make it an act of justice to deprive me of my life, of my reputation, or of my property, I should renounce the society of men, and associate with more harmless animals.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, The true moral system, that which is display'd above, is not only better suited to the nature of man, and to his limited capacity and intelligence, but contributes more to the general good, which I now proceed to demonstrate. It would be losing time to prove, that a man entirely selfish is ill fitted for society; and we have seen (*a*), that universal benevolence, were it a duty, would contribute to the general good perhaps less than absolute selfishness. Man is too limited in capacity and in power for universal benevolence. Even the greatest monarch has not power to exercise his benevolence but within a very small compass; and if so, how unfit would such a duty be for private persons, who have very little power? Serving only to distress them by inability of performance, they would endeavour to smother it altogether, and give full scope to selfishness. Man is much better qualified for doing good, by a constitution in which benevolence is duly blended with self-love. Benevolence, as a duty, takes place of self-love; a regulation essential to society. Benevolence, as a virtue, not a duty, gives place to self-love; because as every man has more power, knowledge, and opportunity, to promote his own good than that of others, a greater quantity of good is produced, than if benevolence were our only principle of action. This holds, even supposing no harm done to any person: much more would it hold, were we permitted to hurt some, in order to produce more good to others.

The foregoing final causes respect morality in general. We now proceed to particulars; and the first and most important is the law of restraint. Man is evidently framed for society: and as there can be no society among creatures who prey upon each other, it was necessary to provide against mutual injuries; which is effectually done by this law. Its necessity with respect to perfo-

(*a*) Sect. 4.

nal security is self-evident ; and with respect to property, its necessity will appear from what follows. In the nature of every man, there is a propensity to hoard or store up things useful to himself and family. But this natural propensity would be rendered ineffectual, were he not secured in the possession of what he thus stores up ; for no man will toil to accumulate what he cannot securely possess. This security is afforded by the moral sense, which dictates, that the first occupant of goods provided by nature for the subsistence of man, ought to be secure in his possession, and that such goods ought to be inviolable as his property. Thus, by the great law of restraint, men have a protection for their goods, as well as for their persons ; and are no less secure in society, than if they were separated from each other by impregnable walls.

Several other duties are little less essential than of restraint to the existence of society. Mutual trust and confidence, without which society would be an uncomfortable state, enter into the character of the human species ; to which the duties of veracity and fidelity correspond. The final cause of these corresponding duties, is obvious : the latter would be of no use in society without the former ; and the former, without the latter, would be hurtful, by laying men open to fraud and deceit.

With respect to veracity in particular, man is so constituted, that he must be indebted to information for the knowledge of most things that benefit or hurt him ; and if he could not depend upon information, society would be very little beneficial. Further, it is wisely ordered, that we should be bound by the moral sense always to speak truth, even where we perceive no harm in transgressing that duty ; because it is sufficient that harm may ensue, tho' not foreseen. At the same time, falsehood always does mischief : it may happen not to injure us externally in our reputation, or in our goods : but it never fails to injure us internally ; for one great blessing of society is, a candid intercourse of sentiments,

ments, of opinions, of desires, and wishes; and to admit any falsehood in such intercourse, would poison the most refined pleasures of life.

Because man is the weakest of all animals in a state of separation; and the very strongest in society, by mutual aid and support to which covenants and promises greatly contribute, these are made binding by the moral sense.

The final cause of the law of propriety, which enforces the duty we owe to ourselves, comes next in order. In discoursing upon those laws of nature which concern society, there is no occasion to mention any self-duty but what relates to society; of which kind are prudence, temperance, industry, firmness of mind. And that such qualities should be made our duty, is wisely ordered in a double respect; first, as qualifying us to act a proper part in society, and next, as intitling us to good-will from others. It is the interest, no doubt, of every man, to suit his behaviour to the dignity of his nature, and to the station allotted him by Providence; for such rational conduct contributes to happiness, by preserving health, procuring plenty, gaining the esteem of others, and, which of all is the greatest blessing, by gaining a justly-founded self-esteem. But here interest solely is not relied on: the powerful authority of duty is added, that in a matter of the utmost importance to ourselves, and of some importance to the society we live in, our conduct may be regular and steady. These duties tend not only to render a man happy in himself, but also, by procuring the good-will and esteem of others, to command their aid and assistance in time of need.

I proceed to the final causes of natural rewards and punishments. It is laid down above, that controversies about property and about other matters of interest, must be adjusted by the standard of right and wrong. But to bring rewards and punishments under the same standard, without regard to private conscience,

would be a plan unworthy of our Maker. It is extremely clear, that to reward one who is not conscious of merit, or to punish one who is not conscious of guilt, cannot answer any good end; and in particular, cannot tend either to improvement or to reformation of manners. How much more like the Deity is the plan of nature, which rewards no man who is not conscious that he merits reward, and punishes no man who is not conscious that he merits punishment! By that plan, and by that only, rewards and punishments accomplish every good end; a final cause most illustrious! The rewards and punishments that attend the primary and secondary virtues, are finely contrived for supporting the distinction between them, set forth above. Punishment must be confined to the transgression of primary virtues, it being the intention of nature, that secondary virtues be entirely free. On the other hand, secondary virtues are more highly rewarded than primary: generosity, for example, makes a greater figure than justice; and magnanimity, heroism, undaunted courage, a still greater figure. One would imagine, at first view, that primary virtues, being more essential, should be intitled to the first place in our esteem, and be more amply rewarded than secondary; and yet in elevating the latter above the former, peculiar wisdom and foresight are conspicuous. Punishment is appropriated to enforce primary virtues; and if these virtues were also attended with high rewards, secondary virtues, degraded to a lower rank, would be deprived of that enthusiastic admiration which is their chief support: self-interest would universally prevail over benevolence, and banish those numberless favours we receive from each other in society, which are beneficial in point of interest, and still more so by generating affection and friendship.

In our progress through final causes we come at last to reparation, one of the principles destined by Providence for redressing wrongs committed, and for preventing the reiteration of them.

The

The final cause of this principle, when the mischief arises from intention, is clear: for to protect individuals in society, it is not sufficient that the delinquent be punished; it is necessary over and above, that the mischief be repaired.

Secondly, Where the act is wrong or unjust, tho' not understood by the author to be so, it is wisely ordered that reparation should follow; which will thus appear. Considering the fallibility of man, it would be too severe to permit advantage to be taken of one's error in every circumstance. On the other hand, to make it a law in our nature, never to take advantage of error, would be giving too much indulgence to indolence and remission of mind, tending to make us neglect the improvement of our rational faculties. Our nature is so happily framed, as to avoid these extremes by distinguishing between gain and loss. No man is conscious of wrong, when he takes advantage of an error committed by another to save himself from loss: if there must be a loss, common sense dictates, that it ought to rest upon the person who has erred, however innocently, rather than upon the person who has not erred. Thus, in a competition among creditors about the estate of their bankrupt debtor, every one is at liberty to avail himself of every error committed by his competitor, in order to recover payment. But *in lucro captando*, the moral sense teacheth a different lesson; which is, that no man ought to lay hold of another's error to make gain by it. Thus, an heir finding a rough diamond in the repositories of his ancestor, gives it away, mistaking it for a common pebble: the purchaser is in conscience and equity bound to restore, or to pay a just price.

Thirdly, The following considerations unfold a final cause, no less beautiful than that last mentioned. Society could not subsist in any tolerable manner, were full scope given to rashness and negligence, and to every action that is not strictly criminal;

whence it is a maxim founded no less upon utility than upon justice, That men in society ought to be extremely circumspect, as to every action that may possibly do harm. On the other hand, it is also a maxim, That as the prosperity and happiness of man depend on action, activity ought to be encouraged, instead of being discouraged by dread of consequences. These maxims, seemingly in opposition, have natural limits that prevent their encroaching upon each other. There is a certain degree of attention and circumspection that men generally bestow upon affairs, proportioned to their importance: if that degree were not sufficient to defend against a claim of reparation, individuals would be too much cramped in action; which would be a great discouragement to activity: if a less degree were sufficient, there would be too great scope for rash or remiss conduct; which would prove the bane of society. These limits, which evidently tend to the good of society, are adjusted by the moral sense; which dictates, as laid down in the section of Reparation, that the man who acts with foresight of the probability of mischief, or acts rashly and uncautiously without such foresight, ought to be liable for consequences; but that the man who acts cautiously, without foreseeing or suspecting any mischief, ought not to be liable for consequences.

In the same section it is laid down, that the moral sense requires from every man, not his own degree of vigilance and attention, which may be very small, but that which belongs to the common nature of the species. The final cause of that regulation will appear upon considering, that were reparation to depend upon personal circumstances, there would be a necessity of enquiring into the characters of men, their education, their manner of living, and the extent of their understanding; which would render judges arbitrary, and such law-suits inextricable. But by assuming
the

the common nature of the species as a standard, by which every man in conscience judges of his own actions, law-suits about reparation are rendered easy and expeditious.

S E C T. VIII.

LIBERTY and NECESSITY considered with respect to Morality.

HAVING, in the foregoing sections, ascertained the reality of a moral sense, with its sentiments of approbation and disapprobation, praise and blame; the purpose of the present section is, to shew, that these sentiments are consistent with the laws that govern the actions of man as a rational being. In order to which, it is first necessary to explain these laws; for there has been much controversy about them, especially among divines of the Arminian and Calvinist sects.

Human actions, as laid down in the first section, are of three kinds: one, where we act by instinct, without any view to consequences; one, where we act by will in order to produce some effect; and one, where we act against will. With respect to the first, the agent acts blindly, without deliberation or choice; and the external act follows necessarily from the instinctive impulse *. Ac-
tions

* A stonechatter makes its nest on the ground or near it; and the young, as soon as they can shift for themselves, leave the nest instinctively. An egg of that
bird

tions done with a view to an end, are in a very different condition: in these, deliberation, choice, will, enter: the intention to accomplish the end goes first; the will to act in order to accomplish the end is next; and the external act follows of course. It is the will then that governs every action done as means to an end; and it is desire to accomplish the end that puts the will in motion; desire in this view being commonly termed the *motive* to act. Thus, hearing that my friend is in the hands of robbers, I burn with desire to free him: desire influences my will to arm my servants, and to fly to his relief. Actions done against will come in afterward.

But what is it that raises desire? The answer is at hand: it is the prospect of attaining some agreeable end, or of avoiding one that is disagreeable. And if it be again enquired, What makes an object agreeable or disagreeable, the answer is equally ready, that our nature makes it so; and more we cannot say. Certain visible objects are agreeable, certain sounds, and certain smells: other objects of these senses are disagreeable. But there we must stop; for we are far from being so intimately acquainted with our own nature as to assign the causes. These hints are sufficient for my present purpose: if one be curious to know more, the

bird was laid in a swallow's nest, fixed to the roof of a church. The swallow fed all the young equally without distinction. The young stonechatter left the nest at the usual time before it could fly; and falling to the ground, it was taken up dead. Here is instinct in purity, exerting itself blindly without regard to variation of circumstances. The same is observable in our dunghill-fowl. They feed on worms, corn, and other seeds dropt on the ground. In order to discover their food, nature has provided them with an instinct to scrape with the foot; and the instinct is so regularly exercised, that they scrape even when they are set upon a heap of corn.

theory

theory of desire, and of agreeableness and disagreeableness, will be found in Elements of Criticism (a).

With respect to instinctive actions, no person, I presume, thinks that there is any freedom, more than in acts done against will: an infant applies to the nipple, and a bird builds its nest, no less necessarily than a stone falls to the ground. With respect to voluntary actions, such as are done with a view to an end, the necessity is the same, tho' less apparent at first view. The external action is determined by the will: the will is determined by desire: and desire by what is agreeable or disagreeable. Here is a chain of causes and effects, not one link of which is arbitrary, or under command of the agent: he cannot will but according to his desire: he cannot desire but according to what is agreeable or disagreeable in the objects perceived: nor do these qualities depend on his inclination or fancy; he has no power to make a beautiful woman ugly, nor to make a rotten carcase sweet.

Many good men apprehending danger to morality from holding our actions to be necessary, endeavour to break the chain of causes and effects above mentioned, maintaining, "That whatever influence desire or motives may have, it is the agent himself who is the cause of every action; that desire may advise, but cannot command; and therefore that a man is still free to act in contradiction to desire and to the strongest motives." That a being may exist, which in every case acts blindly and arbitrarily, without having any end in view, I can make a shift to conceive: but it is difficult for me even to imagine a thinking and rational being, that has affections and passions, that has a desirable end in view, that can easily accomplish this end; and yet, after all, can fly off, or remain at rest, without any cause, reason, or motive, to sway it. If such a whimsical being can possibly ex-

ist, I am certain that man is not such a being. There is perhaps not a person above the condition of a changeling, but can say why he did so and so, what moved him, what he intended. Nor is a single fact stated to make us believe, that ever a man acted against his own will or desire, who was not compelled by external violence. On the contrary, constant and universal experience proves, that human actions are governed by certain inflexible laws; and that a man cannot exert his self-motive power, but in pursuance of some desire or motive.

Had a motive always the same influence, actions proceeding from it would appear no less necessary than the actions of matter. The various degrees of influence that motives have on different men at the same time, and on the same man at different times, occasion a doubt by suggesting a notion of chance. Some motives however have such influence, as to leave no doubt: a timid female has a physical power to throw herself into the mouth of a lion, roaring for food; but she is withheld by terror no less effectually than by cords: if she should rush upon the lion, would not every one conclude that she was frantic? A man, tho' in a deep sleep, retains a physical power to act, but he cannot exert it. A man, tho' desperately in love, retains a physical power to refuse the hand of his mistress; but he cannot exert that power in contradiction to his own ardent desire, more than if he were fast asleep. Now if a strong motive have a necessary influence, there is no reason for doubting, but that a weak motive must also have its influence, the same in kind, tho' not in degree. Some actions indeed are strangely irregular; but let the wildest action be scrutiniz'd, there will always be discovered some motive or desire, which, however whimsical or capricious, was what influenced the person to act. Of two contending motives is it not natural to expect, that the stronger will prevail, however little its excess may be? If there be any doubt, it must be from a supposition that a
weak

weak motive can be resisted arbitrarily. Where then are we to fix the boundary between a weak and a strong motive? If a weak motive can be resisted, why not one a little stronger, and why not the strongest? In *Elements of Criticism* (a) the reader will find many examples of contrary motives weighing against each other. Let him ponder these with the strictest attention: his conclusion will be, that between two motives, however nearly balanced, a man has not an arbitrary choice, but must yield to the stronger. The mind indeed fluctuates for some time, and feels itself in a measure loose: at last, however, it is determined by the more powerful motive, as a balance is by the greater weight after many vibrations.

Such then are the laws that govern our voluntary actions. A man is absolutely free to act according to his own will; greater freedom than which is not conceivable. At the same time, as man is made accountable for his conduct, to his Maker, to his fellow-creatures, and to himself, he is not left to act arbitrarily; for at that rate he would be altogether unaccountable: his will is regulated by desire; and desire by what pleases or displeases him. Where we are subjected to the will of another, would it be our wish, that his will should be under no regulation? And where we are guided by our own will, would it be reasonable to wish, that it should be under no regulation, but be exerted without reason, without any motive, and contrary to common sense? Thus, with regard to human conduct, there is a chain of laws established by nature, not one link of which is left arbitrary. By that wise system, man is rendered accountable: by it, he is made a fit subject for divine and human government: by it, persons of sagacity foresee the conduct of others: and by it, the prescience of the Deity with respect to human actions, is firmly established.

(a) Chap. 2. part 4.

The absurd figure men would make if they could act contrary to motives, should be sufficient, one may think, to open our eyes without an argument. What a despicable figure does a person make, upon whom the same motive has great influence at one time, and very little at another? He is a bad member of society, and cannot be rely'd on as a friend or as an associate. But how highly rational is this supposed person, compared with one who can act in contradiction to every motive? The former may be termed whimsical or capricious: the latter is worse; he is absolutely unaccountable, and cannot be the subject of government, more than a lump of matter unconscious of its own motion.

Let the faculty of acting be compared with that of reasoning: the comparison will tend to soften our reluctance to the necessary influence of motives. A man sometimes blunders in reasoning; but he is tied by his nature, to form conclusions upon what appears to him true at the time. If he could arbitrarily form a different conclusion, what an absurd reasoner would he be! Would a man be less absurd, if he had a power of acting against motives, and contrary to what he thinks right or eligible? To act in that manner, is inconsistent with any notion we can form of a sensible being. Nor do we suppose that man is such a being: in accounting for any action, however whimsical, we always ascribe it to some motive, never once dreaming that there was no motive.

And after all, where would be the advantage of such an arbitrary power? Can a rational man wish seriously to have such a power? or can he seriously think, that God would make man so whimsical a being? To endue man with a degree of self-command sufficient to resist every vicious motive, without any power to resist those that are virtuous, would indeed be a gift of value; but too great for man, because it would exalt him to be an angel. But such self-command as to resist both equally, which is the present supposition, would unqualify us for being governed
either

either by God or by man. Better far to be led as rational creatures by the prospect of good, however erroneous our judgement may sometimes be.

Considering that man is the only terrestrial being formed to know his Maker, and to worship him, will it not sound harshly, while all other animals are subjected to divine government, and unerringly fulfil their destination, that man alone should be withdrawn from divine government, and be so framed, that neither his Maker, nor he himself, can foresee what he will do the next moment? The power of resisting the strongest motives, whether of religion or of morality, would render him independent of the Deity.

This reasoning is too diffuse: may it not be comprehended in a single view? it will make the deeper impression. There may be conceived different systems for governing man as a thinking and rational being. One is, That virtuous motives should always prevail over every other motive. This, in appearance, would be the most perfect government. But man is not so constituted; and there is reason to doubt, whether such perfection would in his present state correspond to the other branches of his nature (a). Another system is, That virtuous motives sometimes prevail, sometimes vitious; and that we are always determined by the prevailing motive. This is the true system of nature; and hence great variety of character and of conduct among men. A third system is, That motives have influence; but that one can act in contradiction to every motive. This is the system I have been combating. Observe only what it resolves into. How is an action to be accounted for that is done in contradiction to every motive? It wanders from the region of common sense into that of mere

(a) See book 2. sketch 1. at the end.

chance. If such were the nature of man, no one could rely on another : a promise or an oath would be a rope of sand : the utmost cordiality between my friend and me, would be no security against his stabbing me with the first weapon that comes in his way. Would any man wish to have been formed according to such a system ? He would probably wish to have been formed according to the system first mentioned : but that is deny'd him, virtuous motives sometimes prevailing, sometimes vicious ; and from the wisdom of Providence we have reason to believe, that this law is of all the best fitted for man in his present state.

To conclude this branch of the subject : In none of the works of Providence, so far as we can penetrate, is there display'd a deeper reach of art and wisdom, than in the laws of action peculiar to man as a thinking and rational being. Were he left loose, to act in contradiction to motives, there would be no place for prudence, foresight, nor for adjusting means to an end : it could not be foreseen by others what a man will do the next hour ; nay it could not be foreseen, even by himself. Man would not be capable of rewards and punishments : he would not be fitted, either for divine or for human government : he would be a creature that has no resemblance to the human race. But man is not left loose ; for tho' he is at liberty to act according to his own will, yet his will is regulated by desire, and desire by what pleases and displeases. This connection preserves uniformity of conduct, and confines human actions within the great chain of causes and effects. By this admirable system, liberty and necessity, seemingly incompatible, are made perfectly concordant, fitting us for society, and for government both human and divine.

Having explained the laws that govern human actions, we proceed to what is chiefly intended in the present section, which is, to examine, how far the moral sentiments handled in the foregoing sections are consistent with these laws. Let it be kept in view, that

that our moral sentiments and feelings are founded entirely upon the moral sense; which unfolds to us a right and a wrong in actions. From the same sense are derived the sentiments of approbation and praise when a man does right, and of disapprobation and blame when he does wrong. Were we destitute of the moral sense, right and wrong, praise and blame, would be as little understood as colours are by one born blind *.

The formidable argument that is urged, to prove that our moral sentiments are inconsistent with the supposed necessary influence of motives, is what follows. "If motives have a necessary influence on our actions, there can be no good reason to praise a man for doing right, nor to blame him for doing wrong. What foundation can there be, either for praise or blame, when it was not in a man's power to have acted otherwise. A man commits murder instigated by a sudden fit of revenge: why should he be punished, if he acted necessarily, and could not resist the violence of the passion?" Here it is supposed, that a power of resistance is essential to praise and blame. But upon examination it will be found, that this supposition has not any support in the moral sense, nor in reason, nor in the common sense of mankind.

With respect to the first, the moral sense, as we have seen above, places innocence and guilt, and consequently praise and blame,

* In an intricate subject like the present, great care should be taken to avoid ambiguities. The term *praise* has two different significations: in one sense it is opposed to *blame*; in another, to *dispraise*. In the former sense it expresses a moral sentiment: in the latter, it expresses only the approving any object that pleases me. I praise one man for his candour, and blame another for being a double-dealer. These, both of them, imply will and intention. I praise a man for being acute; but for being dull, I only dispraise him. I praise a woman for beauty; but blame not any for ugliness, I only dispraise them. None of these particulars imply will or intention.

entirely

entirely upon will and intention. The connection between the motive and the action, so far from diminishing, enhances the praise or blame. The greater influence a virtuous motive has, the greater is the virtue of the agent, and the more warm our praise. On the other hand, the greater influence a vitious motive has, the greater is the vice of the agent, and the more violently do we blame him. As this is the cardinal point, I wish to have it considered in a general view. It is essential both to human and divine government, that the influence of motives should be necessary. It is equally essential, that that necessary influence should not have the effect to lessen guilt in the estimation of men. To fulfil both ends, guilt is placed by the moral sense entirely upon will and intention: a man accordingly blames himself for doing mischief willingly and intentionally, without once considering whether he acted necessarily or not. And his sentiments are adopted by all the world: they pronounce the same sentence of condemnation that he himself does. A man put to the torture, yields to the pain, and with bitter reluctance reveals the secrets of his party: another does the same, yielding to a tempting bribe. The latter only is blamed as guilty of a crime; and yet the bribe perhaps operated as strongly on the latter, as torture did on the former. But the one was compelled against his will to reveal the secrets of his party; and therefore is innocent: the other acted willingly, in order to procure a great sum of money; and therefore is guilty.

With respect to reason, I observe, that the argument I am combating is an appeal to a wrong tribunal: the moral sense is the only judge in this controversy, not the faculty of reason. At the same time, I should have no fear of a sentence against me, were reason to be the judge. For would not reason dictate, that the less a man wavers about his duty; or, in other words, the less influence

ence vicious motives have, the more praise-worthy he is ; and the more blameable, the less influence virtuous motives have.

Nor are we led by common sense to differ from reason and the moral sense. A man commits murder, overcome by a sudden fit of revenge which he could not resist ; will not one be led to reflect, even at first view, that the man did not wish to resist ? on the contrary, that he would have committed the murder, tho' he had not been under any necessity ? A person of plain understanding will say, What signifies it whether the criminal could resist or not, when he committed the murder wittingly and willingly ? A man gives poison privately out of revenge. Does any one doubt of his guilt, when he never once repented ; tho' after administering the poison it no longer was in his power to draw back ? A man may be guilty and blame-worthy, even where there is external compulsion that he cannot resist. With sword in hand I run to attack an enemy : my foot slipping, I fall headlong upon him, and by that accident the sword is push'd into his body. The external act was not the effect of Will, but of accident : but my intention was to commit murder, and I am guilty. All men acknowledge, that the Deity is necessarily good. Does that circumstance detract from his praise in common apprehension ? On the contrary, he merits from us the highest praise on that very account.

It is commonly said, that there can be no virtue where there is no struggle. Virtue, it is true, is best known from a struggle : a man who has never met with a temptation, can be little confident of his virtue. But the observation taken in a strict sense, is undoubtedly erroneous. A man, tempted to betray his trust, wavers ; but, after much doubting, refuses at last the bribe. Another hesitates not a moment, but rejects the bribe with disdain : duty is obstinate, and will not suffer him even to deliberate. Is there

there no virtue in the latter? Undoubtedly more than in the former.

Upon the whole, it appears that praise and blame rest ultimately upon the disposition or frame of mind. Nor is it obvious, that a power to act against motives, could vary in any degree these moral sentiments. When a man commits a crime, let it be supposed, that he could have resisted the prevailing motive. Why then did he not resist, instead of bringing upon himself shame and misery? The answer must be, for no other can be given, that his disposition is vitious, and that he is a detestable creature. Further, it is not a little difficult to conceive, how a man can resist a prevailing motive, without having any thing in his mind that should engage him to resist it. But letting that pass, I make the following supposition. A man is tempted by avarice to accept a bribe: if he resist upon the principle of duty, he is led by the prevailing motive: if he resist without having any reason or motive for resisting, I cannot discover any merit in such resistance: it seems to resolve into a matter of chance or accident, whether he resist or do not resist. Where can the merit lie of resisting a vitious motive, when resistance happens by mere chance? and where the demerit of resisting a virtuous motive, when it is owing to the same chance? If a man, actuated by no principle, good or bad, and having no end or purpose in view, should kill his neighbour, I see not that he would be more accountable, than if he had acted in his sleep, or were mad.

Human punishments are perfectly consistent with the necessary influence of motives, without supposing a power to withstand them. If it be urged, That a man ought not to be punished for committing a crime when he could not resist; the answer is, That as he committed the crime intentionally, and with his eyes open, he is guilty in his own opinion, and in the opinion of all men; and he justly suffers punishment, to prevent him or others from
doing

eism (a) concerning the irregular influence of passion on our opinions and sentiments. Upon examination, it will be found, that the present case may be added to the many examples there given of this irregular influence. In a peevish fit, I take exception at some slight word or gesture of my friend, which I interpret as if he doubted of my veracity. I am instantly in a flame: in vain he protests that he had no meaning, for impatience will not suffer me to listen. I bid him draw, which he does with reluctance; and before he is well prepared, I give him a mortal wound. Bitter remorse and anguish succeed instantly to rage. "What have I done? why did I not abstain? I was not mad, and yet I have murdered my innocent friend: there is the hand that did the horrid deed; why did not I rather turn it against my own heart?" Here every impression of necessity vanishes: my mind tells me that I was absolutely free, and that I ought to have smothered my passion. I put an opposite case. A brutal fellow treats me with great indignity, and proceeds even to a blow. My passion rises beyond the possibility of restraint: I can scarce forbear so long as to bid him draw; and that moment I stab him to the heart. I am sorry for having been engaged with a ruffian, but have no contrition nor remorse. In this case, my sentiments are very different from what they are in the other. I never once dream that I could have resisted the impulse of passion: on the contrary, my thoughts and words are, "That flesh and blood could not bear the affront; and that I must have been branded for a coward, had I not done what I did." In reality, both the actions were equally necessary. Whence then opinions and sentiments so opposite to each other? The irregular influence of passion on our opinions and sentiments, will solve the question. All violent passions are prone to their own gratification. A man affected

(a) Chap. 2. part 5.

with deep remorse abhors himself, and is odious in his own eyes; and it gratifies the passion, to indulge the thought that his guilt is beyond the possibility of excuse. In the first case accordingly, remorse forces upon me a conviction that I might have restrained my passion, and ought to have restrained it. I will not give way to any excuse; because in a fit of remorse it gives me pain to be excused. In the other case, there being no remorse, there is no disguise; and things appear in their true light. To illustrate this reasoning, I observe, that passion warps my judgement of the actions of others, as well as of my own. Many examples are given in the chapter above quoted: join to these the following. My servant aiming at a partridge, happens to shoot a favourite spaniel crossing the way unseen. Inflamed with anger, I storm at his rashness, pronounce him guilty, and will listen to no excuse. When my passion is spent, I become sensible that it was merely accidental, and that the man is absolutely innocent. The nurse overlays my only child, the long-expected heir to a great estate. It is with difficulty that I refrain from putting her to death: "The wretch has murdered my infant, and deserves to be torn to pieces." When my passion subsides, I see the matter in a very different light. The poor woman is inconsolable, and can scarce believe that she is innocent: she bitterly reproaches herself for want of care and concern. But, upon cool reflection, both she and I are sensible, that no person in sound sleep has any self-command; and that we cannot be answerable for any action of which we are not conscious. Thus, upon the whole, we find, that any impression we may occasionally have of being able to act in contradiction to motives, is the result of passion, not of sound judgement.

The reader will observe, that this section is copied from *Essays on Morality and Natural Religion*. The ground-work is the same: the alterations are only in the superstructure; and the subject is

abridged in order to adapt it to its present place. Part of the abridgement was published in the second edition of the Principles of Equity. But as law-books have little currency, the publishing the whole in one essay, will not, I hope, be thought improper.

A P P E N D I X.

Upon CHANCE and CONTINGENCY.

I Hold it to be an intuitive proposition, That the Deity is the primary cause of all things; that with consummate wisdom he formed the great plan of government, which he carries on by laws suited to the different natures of animate and inanimate beings; and that these laws, produce a regular chain of causes and effects in the moral as well as the material world, admitting no events but what are comprehended in the original plan (a). Hence it clearly follows, that chance is excluded out of this world, that nothing can happen by accident, and that no event is arbitrary or contingent. This is the doctrine of the essay quoted; and, in my apprehension, well founded. But I cannot subscribe to what follows, viz. "That we have an impression of chance and contingency, which consequently must be delusive." I would not willingly admit any delusion in the nature of man, where it is not made evident beyond contradiction; and I now see clearly, that

(a) See Essays on Morality and Natural Religion, part 1. essay 3.

the impression we have of chance and contingency, is not delusive, but perfectly consistent with the established plan.

The explanation of chance and contingency in the said essay, shall be given in the author's own words, as a proper text to reason upon. " In our ordinary train of thinking, it is certain
 " that all events appear not to us as necessary. A multitude of
 " events seem to be under our power to cause or to prevent; and
 " we readily make a distinction betwixt events that are *necessary*,
 " *i. e.* that must be; and events that are *contingent*, *i. e.* that may
 " be, or may not be. This distinction is void of truth: for all
 " things that fall out either in the material or moral world, are,
 " as we have seen, alike necessary, and alike the result of fixed
 " laws. Yet, whatever conviction a philosopher may have of
 " this, the distinction betwixt things necessary and things con-
 " tingent, possesses his common train of thought, as much as it
 " possesses the most illiterate. We act universally upon that dis-
 " tinction: nay it is in truth the cause of all the labour, care,
 " and industry, of mankind. I illustrate this doctrine by an ex-
 " ample. Constant experience hath taught us, that death is a ne-
 " cessary event. The human frame is not made to last for ever
 " in its present condition; and no man thinks of more than a
 " temporary existence upon this globe. But the particular time
 " of our death appears a contingent event. However certain it
 " be, that the time and manner of the death of each individual
 " is determined by a train of preceding causes, and is no less
 " fixed than the hour of the sun's rising or setting; yet no person
 " is affected by this doctrine. In the care of prolonging life, we
 " are directed by the supposed contingency of the time of death,
 " which, to a certain term of years, we consider as depending in
 " a great measure on ourselves, by caution against accidents,
 " due use of food, exercise, &c. These means are prosecuted
 " with the same diligence as if there were in fact no necessary
 " train

“ train of causes to fix the period of life. In short, whoever at-
 “ tends to his own practical ideas, whoever reflects upon the
 “ meaning of the following words which occur in all languages,
 “ of things *possible, contingent, that are in our power to cause or pre-*
 “ *vent* ; whoever, I say, reflects upon these words, will clearly
 “ see, that they suggest certain perceptions or notions repugnant
 “ to the doctrine above established of universal necessity.”

In order to show that there is no repugnance, I begin with de-
 fining *chance* and *contingency*. The former is applied to events
 that have happened ; the latter to future events. When we say a
 thing has happened by *chance*, we do not mean that *chance* was
 the cause ; for no person ever thought that *chance* is a thing that
 can act, and by acting produce events : we only mean, that we
 are ignorant of the cause, and that, for ought we see, it might
 have happened or not happened, or have happened differently.
 Aiming at a bird, I shoot *by chance* a favourite spaniel : the mean-
 ing is not, that chance killed the dog, but that as to me the dog's
 death was accidental. With respect to contingency, future events
 that are variable, and the cause unknown, are said to be contin-
 gent ; changes of the weather, for example, whether it will be
 frost or thaw to-morrow, whether fair or foul. In a word,
 chance and contingency applied to events, mean not that such e-
 vents happen without any cause, but only that we are ignorant of
 the cause.

It appears to me clear, that there is no such thing in human na-
 ture as a sense of *contingency* ; or, in other words, a sense that a-
 ny thing happens without a cause : such a sense would be grossly
 delusive. True it is indeed, that our sense of a cause is but clou-
 dy and indistinct with respect to certain events. Events that hap-
 pen regularly, such as summer and winter, rising and setting of
 the sun, give us a distinct impression of a cause. The impres-
 sion is less distinct with respect to events less regular, such as al-
 terations

terations of the weather ; and extremely indistinct with respect to events that seldom happen, and that happen without any known cause. But with respect to no event whatever does our sense of a cause vanish altogether, and give place to a positive sense of contingency, that is, a sense of things happening without a cause.

Chance and contingency thus explained, suggest not any perception or notion repugnant to the doctrine of universal necessity ; for my ignorance of a cause, does not, even in my own apprehension, exclude a cause. Descending to particulars, I take the example mentioned in the text, viz. the uncertainty of the time of my death. Knowing that my life depends in some measure on myself, I use all means to preserve it, by proper food, exercise, and care to prevent accidents. Nor is there any delusion here. I am moved to use these means by the desire I have to live : these means accordingly prove effectual to carry on my present existence to the appointed period ; and in that view are so many links in the great chain of causes and effects. A burning coal falling from the grate upon the floor, wakes me from a sound sleep. I start up to extinguish the fire. The motive is irresistible : nor have I reason to resist, were it in my power ; for I consider the extinction of the fire by my hand to be one of the means chosen by Providence for prolonging my life to its destined period.

Were there a chain of causes and effects established entirely independent on me, and were my life in no measure under my own power, it would indeed be fruitless for me to act ; and the absurdity of knowingly acting in vain, would be a prevailing motive for remaining at rest. Upon that supposition, the *ignavia ratio* of Chrysippus might take place ; *cui si pareamus, nihil omnino agamus in vita* *. But I act necessarily when influenced by motives ;

* “ The indolent principle ; which if we were to follow, we should do nothing, “ in life.”

and I have no reason to forbear, considering that my actions, by producing their intended effects, contribute to carry on the universal chain.

P A R T II.

PROGRESS OF MORALITY.

HAVING unfolded the principles of morality, the next step is, to trace out its gradual progress, from its infancy among savages, to its maturity among polished nations. The history of opinions concerning the foundation of morality, falls not within my plan; and I am glad to be relieved from an article that is executed in perfection by more able hands (*a*).

An animal is brought forth with every one of its external members; and completes its growth, not by production of any new member, but by addition of matter to those originally formed. The same holds with respect to internal members; the senses, for example, instincts, powers and faculties, principles and propensities: these are coeval with the individual, and are gradually unfolded, some early, some late. The external senses, being necessary for self-preservation, soon arrive at maturity. Some internal senses, of order for instance, of propriety, of dignity, being of no use during infancy, are not only slow in their progress toward maturity, but require much culture. Among savages they are scarce perceptible.

The moral sense, in its progress, differs from those last men-

(*a*) Dr Cudworth and Dr. Smith.

tioned :

causes of discord ; and overlooking trifling offences, we are satisfied with moderate reparation, even for gross injuries.

A nation from its original savage state, grows to maturity like the individuals above described, and the progress of morality is the same in both. The savage state is the infancy of a nation, during which the moral sense is feeble, yielding to custom, to imitation, to passion. But a nation, like a member of a polished society, ripens gradually, and acquires a taste in the fine arts, with acuteness of sense in matters of right and wrong. Hatred and revenge, the great obstacles to moral duty, raged without control, while the privilege of avenging wrongs was permitted to individuals (*a*). But hatred and revenge yielded gradually to the pleasures of society, and to the growing authority of the moral sense ; and benevolent affections prevailed over dissocial passions. In that comfortable period, we hear no more of cruelty as a national character : on the contrary, the aversion we have to an enemy, is even in war exercised with moderation. Nor do the stormy passions ever again revive ; for after a nation begins to decline from its meridian height, the passions that prevail are not of the violent kind, but selfish, timorous, and deceitful.

Morality however has not to this day arrived to such maturity as to operate between nations with equal steadiness and vigour as between individuals. Ought this to be regretted as an imperfection in our nature ? I think not : had we the same compunction of heart for injuring a nation as for injuring an individual, and were injustice equally blameable as to both, war would cease, and a golden age ensue ; than which a greater misfortune could not befall the human race (*b*).

(*a*) See Historical Law-tracts, tract 1.

(*b*) Book 2. sketch 1.

In the progress from maturity to a declining state, a nation differs widely from an individual. Old age puts an end to the latter: there are many causes that weaken the former; but old age is none of them, if it be not in a metaphorical sense. Riches, selfishness, and luxury, are the diseases that weaken prosperous nations: these diseases, following each other in a train, corrupt the heart, dethrone the moral sense, and make an anarchy in the soul: men stick at no expence to purchase pleasure; and they stick at no vice to supply that expence.

Such are the outlines of morality in its progress from birth to burial; and these outlines I propose to fill up with an induction of particulars. Looking back to the commencement of civil society, when no wants were known but those of nature, and when such wants were amply provided for; we find individuals of the same tribe living innocently and cordially together: they had no irregular appetites, nor any ground of strife. In that state, moral principles joined their influence with that of national affection, to secure individuals from harm. Savages accordingly, who have plenty of food, and are simple in habitation and cloathing, seldom transgress the rules of morality within their own tribe. Diodorus Siculus, who composed his history recently after Cæsar's expedition into Britain, says, that the inhabitants dwelt in mean cottages covered with reeds or sticks; that they were of much sincerity and integrity, contented with plain and homely fare; and were strangers to the excess and luxury of rich men. In Friezeland, in Holland, and in other maritime provinces of the Netherlands, locks and keys were unknown, till the inhabitants became rich by commerce: they contented themselves with bare necessities, which every one had in plenty. The Laplanders have no notion of theft. When they make an excursion into Norway, which is performed in the summer months, they leave their huts open, without fear that any thing will be purloined. Formerly, they

were entirely upright in their only commerce, that of bartering the skins of wild beasts for tobacco, brandy, and coarse cloth. But being often cheated by strangers, they begin to be more cunning. Crantz, describing the inhabitants of Iceland before they were corrupted by commerce with strangers, says, that they lived under the same roof with their cattle; that every thing was common among them except their wives and children; and that they were simple in their manners, having no appetite but for what nature requires. In the reign of Edwin King of Northumberland, a child, as historians report, might have travelled with a purse of gold, without hazard of robbery: in our days of luxury, want is so intolerable, that even fear of death is not sufficient to deter us. All travellers agree, that the native Canadians are perfectly disinterested, abhorring deceit and lying. The Californians are fond of iron and sharp instruments; and yet are so strictly honest, that carpenter-tools left open during night, were safe. The savages of North America had no locks for their goods: they probably have learned from Europeans, to be more circumspect. Procopius bears testimony (*a*), that the Sclavi, like the Huns, were innocent people, free of all malice. Plan Carpin, the Pope's ambassador to the Cham of Tartary, ann. 1246, says, that the Tartars are not addicted to thieving; and that they leave their goods open without a lock. Nicholas Damascenus reports the same of the Celtæ. The original inhabitants of the island Borneo, expelled by the Mahometans from the sea-coast to the center of the country, are honest, industrious, and kindly to each other: they have some notion of property, but not such as to render them covetous. Pagans in Siberia are numerous; and, tho' grossly ignorant especially in matters of religion, they are a good moral people. It is rare to hear

(*a*) *Historia Gothica*, lib. 3.

among

among them of perjury, thieving, fraud, or drunkenness; if we except those who live among the Russian Christians, with whose vices they are tainted. Strahlenberg (*a*) bears testimony to their honesty. Having employ'd a number of them in a long navigation, he slept in the same boat with men whose names he knew not, whose language he understood not, and yet lost not a particle of his baggage. Being obliged to remain a fortnight among the Ostiaks, upon the river Oby, his baggage lay open in a hut inhabited by a large family, and yet nothing was purloined. The following incident, which he also mentions, is remarkable. A Russian of Tobolski, in the course of a long journey, lodged one night in an Ostiak's hut, and the next day on the road missed his purse with a hundred rubles. His landlord's son, hunting at some distance from the hut, found the purse, but left it there. By his father's order, he covered it with branches, to secure it in case an owner should be found. After three months, the Russian returning, lodged with the same Ostiak; and mentioning occasionally the loss of his purse, the Ostiak, who at first did not recollect his face, cry'd out with joy, "Art thou the man who lost that purse? my son shall go and show thee where it lies, that thou may'st take it up with thine own hand." The Hottentots (*b*) have not the least notion of theft: tho' immoderately fond of tobacco and brandy, they are employ'd by the Dutch for tending warehouses full of these commodities. Here is an instance of probity above temptation, even among savages in the first stage of social life. Some individuals are more liberally endued than others with virtuous principles: may it not be thought, that in that respect nature has been more kind to the Hottentots

(*a*) Description of Russia, Siberia, &c.

(*b*) Kolben.

than to many other tribes? Spaniards, settled on the sea-coast of Chili, carry on a commerce with neighbouring savages, for bridles, spurs, knives, and other manufactures of iron; and in return receive oxen, horses, and even children for slaves. A Spaniard carries his goods there; and after obtaining liberty to dispose of them, he moves about, and delivers his goods, without the least reserve, to every one who bargains with him. When all is sold, he intimates his departure; and every purchaser hurries with his goods to him; and it is not known that any one Indian ever broke his engagement. They give him a guard to carry him safe out of their territory, with all the slaves, horses, and cattle he has purchased. The savages of Brazil are faithful to their promises, and to the treaties they make with the Portuguese. Upon some occasions, they may be accused of error and wrong judgement, but never of injustice nor of duplicity.

While the earth was thinly peopled, plenty of food, procured by hunting and fishing, promoted population; but as population lessens the stock of animal food, a savage nation, encreasing in numbers, must spread wider and wider for more game. Thus tribes, at first widely separated from each other, approach gradually till they become neighbours. Hence a new scene with respect to morality. Differences about their hunting-fields, about their game, about personal injuries, multiply between neighbours; and every quarrel is blown into a flame, by the aversion men naturally have to strangers. Anger, hatred, and revenge, find now vent, which formerly lay latent without an object: dissocial passions prevail without control, because among savages morality is no match for them; and cruelty becomes predominant in the human race. Ancient history accordingly is full of enormous cruelties; witness the incursions of the northern barbarians into the Roman empire; and witness the incursions of Genhizcan and Tamerlane

ann. 1476 in the cathedral church of Milan, after the assassins had put up their prayers for courage to perpetrate the deed. It is a still stronger proof how low morality was in those days, that the Pope himself, Sextus IV. attempted to assassinate the two brothers, Laurent and Julien de Medicis ; chusing the elevation of the host as a proper time, when the people would be busy about their devotions. Nay more, that very Pope, with unparalleled impudence, excommunicated the Florentines for doing justice upon the intended assassins. The most sacred oaths were in vain employed as a security against that horrid crime. Childebert II. King of the Franks, enticed Magnovald to his court, by a solemn oath that he should receive no harm ; and yet made no difficulty to assassinate him during the gaiety of a banquet. But these instances, however horrid, make no figure compared with the massacre of St Bartholomew, where many thousands were inhumanly and treacherously butchered. Even so late as the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, assassination was not held in every case to be criminal. Many solicitous applications were made to general councils of Christian clergy, to declare it criminal in every case ; but without success. Ferdinand King of Aragon and Navarre, after repeated assassinations and acts of perfidy, obtained the appellation of *Great* : so little authority had the moral sense during these dark ages.

But it is scarce necessary to mention particular instances of the overbearing power of malevolent passions during such ages. An opinion, formerly universal, that the innocent may be justly involved in the same punishment with the guilty, is of itself irrefragable evidence, that morality once had very little influence when opposed by revenge. There is no moral principle more evident, than that punishment cannot be inflicted with justice but upon the guilty ; and yet in Greece, the involving of the innocent with the guilty in the same punishment, was authorised even by positive

tive law. By an Athenian law, a man committing sacrilege, or betraying his country, was banished with all his children (*a*). And when a tyrant was put to death, his children suffered the same fate (*b*). The punishment of treason in Macedon, was extended against the criminal's relations (*c*). Hanno, a citizen of Carthage, formed a plot to enslave his country, by poisoning the whole senate at a banquet. He was tortured to death; and his children, with all his relations, were cut off without mercy, tho' they had no accession to his guilt. Among the Japanese, a people remarkably ferocious, it is the practice to involve children and relations in the punishment of capital crimes. Even Cicero, the chief man for learning in the most enlightened period of the Roman republic, and a celebrated moralist, approves that practice: "Nec vero me fugit, quam sit acerbum parentum scelera filiorum poenis lui: sed hoc præclare legibus comparatum est, ut caritas liberorum amiciores parentes reipublicæ redderet * (*d*)."
In Britain, every one knows, that murder was retaliated, not only against the criminal and his relations, but against his whole clan; a practice so common as to be distinguished by a peculiar name, that of *deadly feud*. As late as the days of King Edmund, a law was made in England, prohibiting deadly feud, except between the relations of the person murdered and the murderer himself.

* "I am sensible of the hardship of punishing the child for the crime of the parent: this, however, is a wise enactment of our laws; for hereby the parent is bound to the interest of the state by the strongest of all ties, the affection to his offspring."

(*a*) Meursæus de legibus Atticis, lib. 2. cap. 2.

(*b*) Eod. lib. 2. cap. 15.

(*c*) Quintus Curtius, lib. 6. cap. 11.

(*d*) Ep. 12. ad Brutum.

I embrace the present opportunity to honour the Jews, by observing, that they were the first people we read of, who had correct notions of morality with respect to the present point. The following law is express: "The fathers shall not be put to death for the children, neither shall the children be put to death for the fathers: every man shall be put to death for his own sin (a)." Amaziah, King of Judah, gave strict obedience to that law, in avenging his father's death: "And it came to pass as soon as the kingdom was confirmed in his hand, that he slew his servants which had slain the king his father. But the children of the murderers he slew not; according to that which is written in the book of the law of Moses (b)." There is an elegant passage in Ezekiel to the same purpose (c): "What mean ye, that ye use this proverb concerning the land of Israel, saying, The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the childrens teeth are set on edge? As I live, saith the Lord God, ye shall not have occasion any more to use this proverb in Israel. The soul that sinneth, it shall die: the son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son; the righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him." Among the Jews however, as among other nations, there are instances without number, of involving innocent children and relations in the same punishment with the guilty. Such power has revenge, as to trample upon conscience, and upon the most express laws. Instigated with rage for Nabal's ingratitude, King David made a vow to God, not to leave alive of all who pertained to Nabal any

(a) Deuteronomy xxiv. 16.

(b) 2 Kings, chap. 14.

(c) Chap. 18.

that

that pisseth against the wall. And it was not any compunction of conscience that diverted him from his cruel purpose, but Nabal's beautiful wife, who pacified him (a). But such contradiction between principle and practice, is not peculiar to the Jews. We find examples of it in the laws of the Roman empire. The true principle of punishment is laid down in an edict of the Emperors Arcadius and Honorius (b). "Sancimus, ibi esse poenam, ubi et noxia est. Propinquos, notos, familiares, procul a calumnia submovemus, quos reos sceleris societas non facit. Nec enim adfinitas vel amicitia nefarium crimen admittunt. Peccata igitur suos teneant auctores : nec ulterius progrediatur metus quam reperiatur delictum. Hoc singulis quibusque iudici- bus intimetur.*" These very Emperors, with respect to treason, which touched them nearer than other crimes, talk a very different language. After observing, that will and purpose alone without an overt-act, is treason, subjecting the criminal to capital punishment, and to forfeiture of all that belongs to him, they proceed in the following words (c). "Filiis vero ejus, quibus vitam Imperatoria specialiter lenitate concedimus, (paterno enim deberent perire supplicio, in quibus paterni, hoc est, hereditarii criminis exempla metuuntur), a materna, vel avita, omnium etiam proxi-

* "We ordain, that the punishment of the crime shall extend to the criminal alone. We hold his relations, his friends, and his acquaintances, unsuspected ; for intimacy, friendship, or connection, are no proof or argument of guilt. The consequences of the crime shall pursue only its perpetrator. Let this statute be intimated to all our judges."

(a) 1 Samuel, chap. 25.

(b) l. 22. Cod. De poenis.

(c) l. 5. Cod. ad leg. Jul. majest.

“morum hereditate ac fucceffione, habeantur alieni: teftamentis
 “extraneorum nihil capeant: fint perpetuo egentes et pauperes,
 “infamia eos paterna femper comitetur, ad nullos prorfus hono-
 “res, ad nulla facramenta perveniant: fint postremo tales, ut
 “his, perpetua egeftate fordentibus, fit et mors folatium et vita
 “fupplicium*.”

Human nature is not fo perverse, as without veil or difguife to punifh a perfon acknowledged to be innocent. An irregular bias of imagination, which extends the qualities of the principal to its accessories, paves the way to that unjuft practice (a). That bias, ftrengthened by indignation againft an atrocious criminal, leads the mind haftily to conclude, that all his connections are partakers of his guilt. In an enlightened age, the clearnefs of moral principles fetters the imagination from confounding the innocent with the guilty. There remain traces however of that bias, tho’ not carried fo far as murder. The fentence pronounced againft Ravilliac for affaffinating Henry IV. of France, ordains, “That
 “his houfe be erazed to the ground, and that no other building
 “be ever erected upon that fpot.” Was not this in imagination punifhing a houfe for the proprietor’s crime?

* “By a fpecial extenfion of our imperial clemency, we allow the fons of the
 “criminal to live; altho’, in ftrict juftice, being tainted with hereditary guilt,
 “they ought to fuffer the punifhment of their father. But it is our will, that
 “they fhall be incapable of all inheritance, either from the mother, the grand-
 “father, or any of their kindred; that they fhall be deprived of the power of in-
 “heriting by the teftament of a ftranger; that they fhall be abandoned to the ex-
 “treme of poverty and perpetual indigence; that the infamy of their father fhall
 “ever attend them, incapable of honours, and excluded from the participation
 “of religious rites; that fuch, in fine, fhall be the mifery of their condition, that
 “life fhall be a punifhment, and death a comfort.”

(a) Elements of Criticifm, chap. 2. feft. 5.

Murder

Murder and assassination are not only destructive in themselves, but, if possible, still more destructive in their consequences. The practice of shedding blood unjustly, and often wantonly, blunts conscience, and paves the way to every crime. This observation is verified in the ancient Greeks: their cruel and sanguinary character, rendered them little regardful of the strict rules of justice. Right was held to depend on power, among men as among wild beasts: it was conceived to be the will of the gods, that superior force should be a lawful title to dominion; "for what right can the weak have to what they cannot defend?" Were that maxim to obtain, a weak man would have no right to liberty nor to life. That impious doctrine was avowed by the Athenians, and publicly asserted by their ambassadors in a conference with the Melians, reported by Thucydides (a). Many persons act as if force and right were the same; but a barefaced profession of such a doctrine, is uncommon. In the *Eumenides*, a tragedy of *Æschylus*, *Orestes* is arraigned in the *Areopagus* for killing his mother. *Minerva*, president of the court, decrees in favour of *Orestes*: and for what reason? "Having no mother myself, the murder of a mother toucheth not me *." In the tragedy of *Electra*, *Orestes*, consulting the Delphic oracle about means to avenge his father's murder, was enjoined by *Apollo* to forbear

* Athens, from the nature of its government as established by *Solon*, was rendered incapable of any regular or consistent body of laws. In every case, civil and criminal, the whole people were judges in the last resort. And what sort of judges will an ignorant multitude make, who have no guide but passion and prejudice? It is vain to make good laws, when such judges are the interpreters. *Anacharsis*, the Scythian, being present at an assembly of the people, said, "It was singular, that in Athens, wise men pleaded causes, and fools determined them."

(a) Lib. 5.

force,

force, but to employ fraud and guile. Obedient to that injunction, Orestes commands his tutor to spread in Argos the news of his death, and to confirm the same with a solemn oath. In Homer, even the great Jupiter makes no difficulty to send a lying dream to Agamemnon, chief of the Greeks. Diffimulation is recommended by the goddess Minerva (*a*). Ulysses declares his detestation at using freedom with truth (*b*): and yet no man deals more in feigned stories (*c*). In the 22d book of the Iliad, Minerva is guilty of gross deceit and treachery to Hector. When he flies from Achilles, she appears to him in the shape of his brother Deiphobus, exhorts him to turn upon Achilles, and promises to assist him. Hector accordingly, returning to the fight, darts his lance; which rebounds from the shield of Achilles; for by Vulcan it was made impenetrable. Hector calls upon his brother for another lance; but in vain, for Deiphobus was not there. The Greeks in Homer's time must have been strangely deformed in their morals, when such a story could be relished *. A nation begins not to polish nor to advance in morality, till writing be common; and writing was not known among the Greeks at the siege of Troy. Nor were the morals of that people, as we see, much purified for a long time after writing became common.

* Upon the story of Jupiter being deceived by Juno in the 14th book of the Iliad, Pope says, "That he knows not a bolder fiction in all antiquity, nor one that has a greater air of impiety." Pope it would seem was little acquainted with antiquity: for such acts of impiety were common among the Greeks; and in particular the incident mentioned in the text, is not only more impious, but also a more gross violation of the laws of morality.

(*a*) Odysses, book 13.

(*b*) Book 14.

(*c*) Book 14. book 15.

When

When Plautus wrote, the Roman system of morals must have been extremely impure. In his play termed *Menachmi*, a gentleman of fashion having accidentally got into his hands a lady's robe with a gold clasp, instead of returning them to the owner, endeavours to sell them without shame or remorse. Such a scene would not be suffered at present, except among pick-pockets. Both the Greeks and Carthaginians were held by the Romans to be artful and cunning. The Romans continued a plain people, with much simplicity of manners, when the nations mentioned had made great progress in the arts of life; and it is a sad truth, that morality declines in proportion as a nation polishes. But if the Romans were later than the Greeks and Carthaginians in the arts of life, they soon surpassed them in every sort of immorality. For this change of manners they were indebted to their rapid conquests. The sanguinary disposition both of the Greeks and Romans, appears from another practice, that of exposing their infant children, which continued till humanity came in some measure to prevail. The practice continues in China to this day, the populousness of the country throwing a veil over the cruelty; but from the humanity of the Chinese, I conjecture, that the practice will be found rare. The Jews, a cloudy and peevish tribe, much addicted to bloodshed, were miserably defective in moral principles. Take the following examples out of an endless number recorded in the books of the Old Testament. Jael, wife of Heber, took under her protection Sisera general of the Canaanites, and engaged her faith for his security. She put him treacherously to death when asleep; and was applauded by Deborah the prophetess for the meritorious action (a). That horrid deed would probably have appeared to her in a different light, had it been committed against Barac, general of the Israelites.

(a) Judges iv. 5.

David, flying from Saul, took refuge with Achish, King of Gath; and tho' protected by that King, made war against the King's allies, saying, that it was against his own countrymen of Judah. "And David saved neither man nor woman alive to bring tidings to Gath. And Achish believed David, saying, He hath made his people Israel utterly to abhor him: therefore he shall be my servant for ever (a)." This was a complication of ingratitude, lying, and treachery. Ziba, by presents to King David, and by defaming his master Mephibosheth, procured from the King a gift of his master's inheritance; tho' Mephibosheth had neither trimmed his beard, nor washed his cloaths, from the day the King departed till he returned in peace. "And it came to pass, when Mephibosheth was come to Jerusalem to meet the king, that the king said unto him, Wherefore wentest thou not with me, Mephibosheth? And he answered, My lord, O king, my servant deceived me; for thy servant said, I will saddle me an ass, that I may ride thereon, and go to the king; because thy servant is lame, and he hath slandered thy servant unto my lord the king. But my lord the king is as an angel of God: do therefore what is good in thine eyes. For all my father's house were but dead men before my lord the king: yet didst thou set thy servant among them that did eat at thine own table: what right therefore have I to cry any more unto the king?" David could not possibly atone for his rashness, but by restoring to Mephibosheth his inheritance, and punishing Ziba in an exemplary manner. But hear the sentence: "And the king said unto him, Why speakest thou any more of thy matters? I have said, Thou and Ziba divide the land (b)." The same king, after pardoning

(a) 1 Samuel, xxvii. 11.

(b) 2 Samuel, xix. 24.

Shimei for cursing him, and swearing that he should not die; yet upon deathbed enjoined his son Solomon to put Shimei to death: "Now therefore hold him not guiltless; but his hoary head bring thou down to the grave with blood (*a*)."

I wish not to be misapprehended, as intending to censure David in particular. If the best king the Jews ever had, was so miserably deficient in morality, what must be thought of the nation in general? When David was lurking to avoid the wrath of Saul, he became acquainted with Nabal, who had a great stock of cattle. "He discharged his followers," says Josephus (*b*), "either for avarice, or hunger, or any pretext whatever, to touch a single hair of them; preaching still on the text of doing justice to all men, in conformity to the will of God, who is not pleased with any man that covets or lays violent hands on the goods of his neighbour." Our author proceeds to acquaint us, that Nabal having refused to supply David with provisions, and having sent back the messengers with a scoffing answer, David in great rage made a vow, that he would destroy Nabal with his house and family. Our author observes, that David's indignation against Nabal, was not so much for his ingratitude, as for the virulence of an insolent outrage against one who had never injured him. And what was the outrage? It was, says our author, that Nabal enquiring who the said David was, and being told that he was one of the sons of Jesse, "Yes, yes," says Nabal, "your run-away servants look upon themselves to be brave fellows, I warrant you." Strange looseness of morals! I mean not David, who was in wrath, but Josephus writing sedately in his closet. He every where celebrates David for his justice and piety, composes for him the very warm

(*a*) 1 Kings, ii. 9.

(*b*) Antiquities, book 6.

exhortation mentioned above : and yet thinks him not guilty of any wrong, in vowing to break every rule of justice and humanity, upon so slight a provocation as a scoffing expression, such as no man of temper will regard.

European nations, who originally were fierce and sanguinary like the Greeks and Jews, had the same cloudy and uncorrect notions of right and wrong. It is scarce necessary to give instances, the low state of morality during the dark ages of Christianity being known to all. In the time of Louis XI. of France, promises and engagements were utterly disregarded, till they were sanctified by a solemn oath : nor were such oaths long regarded ; they lost their force, and were not relied on more than simple promises. All faith among men seemed to be at an end. Even those who appeared the most scrupulous about character, were however ready to grasp at any subterfuge to excuse their breach of engagement. And it is a still stronger proof of self-deceit, that such subterfuges were frequently prepared beforehand, in order to furnish an excuse. It was a common practice some ages ago, to make private protestations, which were thought sufficient to relieve men in conscience from being bound by a solemn treaty. Charles, afterward Emperor of Germany, during his minority, gave authority to declare publicly his accession to a treaty of peace, between his grandfather Maximilian and the King of France : but at the same time protested privately, before a notary and witnesses, “ That, notwithstanding his public accession to the said treaty, it was not his
“ intention to be bound by every article of it ; and particularly,
“ that the clause reserving to the King of France the sovereignty
“ of certain territories in the Netherlands, should not be binding.” Is it possible Charles could be so blind, as not to see, that such practice, if it have any effect, must destroy all faith among men ? What better was this than what was practised by Robert King of France in the tenth century, to free his subjects from the guilt of perjury ? They swore upon a box of relics, out of which the re-
lics

lics were privately taken. Correa, a Portuguese general, made a treaty with the King of Pegu; and it was agreed, that each party should swear to observe the treaty, laying his hand upon the sacred book of his religion. Correa swore upon a collection of songs, and by that vile stratagem thought that he was not bound. The inhabitants of Britain were so loose formerly, that a man was not reckoned safe in his own house, without a mastiff to protect him from violence. Mastiffs were permitted even to those who dwelt within the king's forests; and to prevent danger to the deer, there was in England a court for *lawing* or *expedition* of mastives, *i. e.* for cutting off the claws of their fore-feet, to prevent them from running (*a*). The trial and condemnation of Charles I. in a pretended court of justice, however audacious and unconstitutional, was yet an effort toward regularity and order. In the preceding age, the king would have been taken off by assassination or poison. Every prince in Europe had an officer whose province it was to secure his master against poison. A lady was appointed to that office by Queen Elisabeth of England; and the form was, to give to each of the servants a mouthful to eat of the dish he brought in. Poison must have been frequent in those days, to make such a regulation necessary. To vouch still more clearly the low ebb of morality during that period, seldom it happened that a man of figure died suddenly, or of an unusual disease, but poison was suspected. Men conscious of their own vicious disposition, are prone to suspect others. The Dauphin, son to Francis I. of France, a youth of about eighteen, having overheated himself at play, took a great draught of iced water, and died of a pleurisy in five days. The death was sudden, but none is more natural. The suspicion however of poison was universal; and Montecuculi, who attended the young prince, was formally condemned to death and

(*a*) Carta de Foresta, cap. 6.

executed for it ; for no better reason, than that he had at all times ready access to the prince.

Considering the low state of morality where dissocial passions bear rule, as in the scenes now display'd, one would require a miracle to recover mankind out of such anarchy. But, as observed above (a), Providence brings order out of confusion. The intolerable distress of a state of things where a promise, or even an oath, is a rope of sand, and where all are set against all (b), made people at last sensible, that they must either renounce society altogether, or qualify themselves for it, by checking their dissocial passions. Finding from experience, that the gratification of social affections exceeds greatly that of cruelty and revenge, men endeavoured to acquire a habit of self-command, and of restraining their stormy passions. The necessity of fulfilling every moral duty was recognised : men listened to conscience, the voice of God in their hearts : and the moral sense was cordially submitted to, as the ultimate judge in all matters of right and wrong. Salutary laws and steady government contributed to perfect that glorious revolution : private conviction alone would not have been effectual, not at least in many ages.

From that revolution is derived what is termed *the law of nations*, meaning certain regulations dictated by the moral sense in its maturity. The laws of our nature refine gradually as our nature refines. The putting an enemy to death in cold blood, is averse to improved nature, tho' common while barbarity prevailed. It is held infamous to use poisoned weapons, tho' the moral sense made little opposition while rancour and revenge were ruling passions. Aversion against strangers is taught to vary its object, from

(a) Book 2. sketch 1.

(b) Hobbes.

individuals,

individuals, to the nation that is our enemy : I bear enmity against France ; but dislike not any one Frenchman, being conscious that it is the duty of subjects to serve their king and country *. In distributing justice, we make no distinction between natives and foreigners : if any partiality be indulged, it is in favour of the helpless stranger.

But cruelty is not the only antagonist to morality. There is another, less violent indeed, but more cunning and undermining ; and that is the hoarding-appetite. Before money was introduced, that appetite was extremely faint : in the first stage of civil society, men are satisfied with plain necessaries ; and having these in plenty, they think not of providing against want. But money is a species of property, so universal in operation, and so permanent in value, as to rouse the appetite for hoarding : love of money excites industry ; and the many beautiful productions of industry, magnificent houses, splendid gardens, rich garments, inflame the appetite to an extreme. In the thirteenth century, so obscured was the moral sense by rapacity and avarice, that robbery on the highway, and the coining false money, were in Germany held to be privileges of great lords. That perjury was common in the city of London, especially among jurymen, makes a preamble in more than one statute of Henry VII. In *the Dance of Death*, translated from the French in the said king's reign, with additions adapted to English manners, a jurymen is introduced, who, influenced by bribes, had often given a false verdict. And the sheriff was often suspected as accessory to the crime, by returning for jurymen persons of a bad character. Carew, in his account of Cornwall, says,

* In one of our ill-concerted descents upon France during the late war, signal humanity appeared, in forbearing to burn a manufactory of sails and ropes, belonging to the King ; because it would have destroy'd an adjoining building of the same kind belonging to a private manufacturer.

that

that it was an ordinary article in an attorney's bill, to charge *pro amicitia vicecomitis* *. Perjury in jurors of the city of London, is greatly complained of. Stow informs us, that, in the year 1468, many jurors of that city were punished, and papers fixed on their heads, declaring their offence, of being corrupted by the parties to the suit. He complains of that corruption as flagrant in the reign of Elizabeth, when he wrote his account of London. Fuller, in his English Worthies, mentions it as a proverbial saying, "That London juries hang half, and save half." Grafton, in his Chronicle, mentions, that the chancellor of the Bishop of London being indicted for murder, the Bishop wrote a letter to Cardinal Wolsey, begging his interposition for having the prosecution stopt, "because London juries were so corrupted, that they would find Abel guilty of the murder of Cain." In that period, the morals of the English were in every particular extremely loose. We learn from Strype's annals (a), that in the county of Somerset alone, forty persons were executed in one year for robbery, theft, and other felonies, thirty-five burnt in the hand, thirty-seven whipped, one hundred and eighty-three discharged, tho' most wicked and desperate persons; and yet that the fifth part of the felonies committed in that county were not brought to trial, either from cunning in the felons, indolence in the magistrate, or foolish lenity in the people; that other counties were in no better condition, and many in a worse; and that commonly there were three or four hundred able-bodied vagabonds in every county, who lived by theft and rapine. Harrison computes, that in the reign of Henry VIII. seventy-two thousand thieves and rogues were hanged; and that in Elizabeth's time there were

* "For the friendship of the sheriff."

(a) Vol. 4.

only hanged yearly between three and four hundred for theft and robbery. At present, there are not forty hanged in a year for these crimes. The same author reports, that in the reign of Elizabeth, there were computed to be in England ten thousand gypsies. In the year 1601, complaints were made in parliament, of the rapine of the justices of peace; and a member said, that this magistrate was an animal, who, for half a dozen of chickens, would dispense with a dozen of penal statutes. The people of Whidah, in Guinea, are much addicted to pilfering. Bosman was told by the King, "That his subjects were not like those of Ardrah, who on the slightest umbrage will poison an European." "This, says he, you have no reason to apprehend here: but take care of your goods; for so expert are my people at thieving, that they will steal from you while you are looking on." The Caribbeans, who know no wants but what nature inspires, are amazed at the industry of the Europeans in amassing wealth. Listen to one of them expostulating with a Frenchman in the following terms: "How miserable art thou, to expose thy person to tedious and dangerous voyages, and to suffer thyself to be oppressed with anxiety about futurity! An inordinate appetite for wealth is thy bane; and yet thou art no less tormented in preserving the goods thou hast acquired, than in acquiring more: fear of robbery or shipwreck suffers thee not to enjoy a quiet moment. Thus thou growest old in thy youth, thy hair turns gray, thy forehead is wrinkled, a thousand ailments afflict thy body, a thousand distresses surround thy heart, and thou movest with painful hurry to the grave. Why art thou not content with what thy own country produceth? Why not condemn superfluities, as we do?"

To control the hoarding appetite, which when inflamed is the bane of civil society, the God of nature has provided two efficacious principles; the moral sense, and the sense of property. The
hoarding

hoarding appetite, it is true, is more and more inflamed by beautiful productions in the progress of art : but, on the other hand, the senses mentioned growing to maturity, have a commanding influence over the actions of men ; and, when cherished in a good government, are a sufficient counterbalance to the hoarding appetite. The ancient Egyptians enjoy'd for ages the blessings of good government ; and moral principles were among them carried to a greater degree of refinement, than at present even in our courts of equity. It was made the duty of every one, to succour those who were unjustly attacked : even passengers were not exempted. A regulation among them, that a man could not be imprisoned for debt, was well suited to the tenor of their laws and manners : it could not have taken place but among an honest and industrious people. In old Rome, tho' remarkable for temperance and austerity of manners, a debtor could be imprisoned, and even sold as a slave, for payment of the debt ; but the Patricians were the creditors, and the poor Plebeians were held in woful subjection *. The
moderation

* A bankrupt in England who pays three fourths of his debt, and obtains a certificate of his good behaviour, is discharged of all the debts contracted by him before his bankruptcy. Such regulation was perhaps not unsuitable to the moderation and frugality of the period when it was made. But luxury and external show, have now become our ruling passions ; and to supply our extravagance, money must be procured at any rate. Trade in particular has degenerated into a species of gaming ; men venturing their all, in hopes of a lucky hit to elevate them above their neighbours. And did they only venture their own, the case would not be deplorable : they venture all they can procure upon credit ; and by that means, reduce to beggary many an innocent family : with respect to themselves, they know the worst of it, which is to be clear'd from their debts by a certificate. The morals of our people are indeed at so low an ebb, as to require the most severe laws against bankruptcy. When a man borrows a sum, it is implied in the covenant, that all his effects present and future shall lie open to the creditor ; for which reason, it is contradictory to justice, that a creditor should be forc'd to discharge

moderation of the inhabitants of Hamburgh, and their public spirit, kept in vigour by a free government, preserve morality among them entire from taint or corruption. I give an illustrious instance. Instead of a tax upon trade or riches, every merchant puts privately into the public chest, what he thinks ought to be his contribution : the total sum seldom falls short of expectation ; and among that numerous body of men, not one is suspected of contributing less than his proportion. But luxury has not yet got footing in that city. A climate not kindly, and a soil not fertile, enured the Swifs to temperance and to virtue. Patriotism continues their ruling passion : they are fond of serving their country ; and are honest and faithful to each other : a law-suit among them is a wonder ; and a door is seldom shut unless to keep out cold.

The hurtful effects of the hoarding appetite with respect to individuals, make no figure compared with its poisonous influence upon the public, in every state enriched by conquest or by commerce ; which I have had more than one opportunity to mention.

charge his debtor without obtaining complete payment. Many debtors, it is true, deserve favour ; but it ought to be left to the humanity of creditors, and not be forc'd from them by law. The debtor, at the same time, may be safely left to the humanity of his creditors : for if he have conducted his affairs with strict integrity, and with any degree of prudence, there will scarce be found one man so hard-hearted, as to stand out against the laudable and benevolent intentions of his fellow-creditors. Nay, if he have any regard to character, he dares not stand out : he would be held as a monster, and be abhorred by all the world. To leave a bankrupt thus to the mercy of his creditors, would produce the most salutary effects. It would excite men to be strictly just in their dealings, and put an end to gaming, so destructive to credit ; because misbehaviour in any of these particulars would set the whole creditors against their debtor, and leave him no hope of favour. In the late bankrupt-statute for Scotland, accordingly, the clause concerning the certificate was wisely left out, as unsuitable to the depraved manners of the present times.

Overflowing riches unequally distributed, multiply artificial wants beyond all bounds: they eradicate patriotism: they foster luxury, sensuality, and selfishness, which are commonly gratified at the expence even of justice and honour. The Athenians were early corrupted by opulence; to which every thing was made subservient. "It is an oracle," says the chorus in the *Agamemnon* of *Eschylus*, "that is not purchased with money." During the infancy of a nation, vice prevails from imbecility in the moral sense: in the decline of a nation, it prevails from the corruption of affluence.

In a small state, there is commonly much virtue at home, and much violence abroad. The Romans were to their neighbours more baneful than famine or pestilence; but patriotism in them occasioned great integrity at home. An oath when given to fortify an engagement with a fellow-citizen, was more sacred at Rome than in any other part of the world (*a*). The censorian office cannot succeed but among a virtuous people; because its rewards and punishments have no influence but upon those who are ashamed of vice *. As soon as Asiatic opulence and luxury prevailed in Rome, selfishness, sensuality, and avarice, formed the character of the Romans; and the censorian power was at an end. Such relaxation of morals ensued, as to make a law necessary prohibiting the custody of an infant to be given to the heir, for fear of murder. And for the same reason, it was held unlawful to make a covenant *de hereditate viventis*. These regulations prove the

* In the fifteenth century, the French clergy from the pulpit censured public transactions, and even the conduct of their king, as our British clergy did in the days of Charles I. and II. They assumed the privilege of a Roman censor; but they were not men of such authority as to do any good in a corrupted nation.

(*a*) *L'Esprit des loix*, liv. 8. ch. 13.

Romans to have been grossly corrupt. Our law is different in both articles; because it entertains not the same bad opinion of the people whom it governs. Domitius Enobarbus and Appius Pulcher were consuls of Rome in the 699th year; and Memmius and Calvinus were candidates for succeeding them in that office. It was agreed among these four worthy gentlemen, that they should mutually assist each other. The consuls engaged to promote the election of Memmius and Calvinus: and they, on the other hand, subscribed a bond, obliging themselves, under a penalty of about L. 3000 Sterling, to procure three augurs, who should attest, that they were present in the comitia when a law passed, investing the consuls with military command in their provinces; and also obliging themselves to produce three persons of consular rank, to depose, that they were not only present in the senate, but actually in the number of those who signed a decree, conferring on the consuls the usual proconsular appointments. And yet the law made in the comitia, and the decree in the senate, were pure fictions, never even spoken of. Infamous as this transaction was, Memmius, to answer some political purpose, was not ashamed to divulge it to the senate. This same Memmius, however, continued to be Cicero's correspondent, and his professed friend. *Proh tempora! proh mores!* But power and riches were at that time ruling passions; and the principles of morality were very little regarded.

It is needless to dissemble, that selfishness, sensuality, and avarice, must in England be the fruits of great opulence, as in every other country; and that morality cannot maintain its authority against such undermining antagonists. Customhouse-oaths have become so familiar among us, as to be swallowed without a wry face; and is it certain, that bribery and perjury in electing parliament-members, are not approaching to the same cool state? In the infancy of morality, a promise makes but a slight impression: to give it

force, it is commonly accompanied with many solemnities (a); and in treaties between sovereigns, even these solemnities are not relied on without a solemn oath. When morality arrives at maturity, the oath is thought unnecessary; and at present, morality is so much on the decline, that a solemn oath is not more relied on, than a simple promise was originally. Laws have been made to prevent such immorality, but in vain: because none but patriots have an interest to support them; and when patriotism is banished by corruption, there is no remaining spring in government to make them effectual. The statutes made against gaming, and against bribery and corruption in elections, have no authority over a degenerate people. Nothing is studied, but how to evade the penalties; and supposing statutes to be made without end for preventing known evasions, new evasions will spring up in their stead. The misery is, that such laws, if they prove abortive, are never innocent with regard to consequences; for nothing is more subversive of morality as well as of patriotism, than a habit of disregarding the laws of our country*.

But

(a) See Historical Law-tracts, tract 2.

* Lying and perjury are not in every case equally criminal; at least are not commonly reckoned so. Lying or perjury, in order to injure a man, is held highly criminal; and the greater the hurt, the greater the crime. To relieve from punishment, few boggle at a lie or at perjury: sincerity is not even expected; and hence the practice of torture. Many men are not scrupulous about oaths, when they have no view but to obtain justice to themselves: the Jacobites, that they might not be deprived of their privileges as British subjects, made no great difficulty to swallow oaths to the present government, tho' in them it was perjury. It is dangerous to withdraw the smallest peg in the moral edifice; for the whole will totter and tumble. Men creep on to vice by degrees. Perjury, in order to support a friend, has become customary of late years; witness fictitious qualifications in the electors of parliament-men, which are made effectual by perjury: yet such is the degeneracy of the present times, that no man is the worse thought of upon
that

But pride sometimes happily interposes to stem the tide of corruption. The poor are not ashamed to take a bribe from the rich ; nor weak states from those that are powerful, disguised only under the name of *subsidy* or *pension*. Both France and England have been in the practice of securing the alliance of some foreign princes by pensions ; and it is natural in the ministers of a pensioned prince, to receive a gratification for keeping their master to his engagement. England never was at any time so inferior to France, as to suffer their king to accept a pension, whatever private transactions might be between the kings themselves. But the ministers of England thought it no disparagement, to receive pensions from France. Every minister of Edward IV. of England received a pension from Louis XI. ; and they made no difficulty of granting a receipt accordingly. The old Earl of Warwick, says Commynes, was the only exception : he took the money, but refused a receipt. Cardinal Wolfey had a pension both from the Emperor and from the King of France : and his master Henry was vain, that his minister was so much regarded by the first powers in Europe. During the reigns of Charles II. and of his brother James, England made so despicable a figure, that the ministers accepted pensions from Louis XIV. A king void of virtue was never well served. King Charles, most disgracefully, accepted a pension from France : what scruple could his ministers have ? Britain, governed by a king eminently virtuous and patriotic, makes at present so great a figure, that even the lowest minister would disclaim a pension from any foreign prince. Men formerly were so blind as not to see, that a pension creates a bias in a minister, against his master and his country. At present,

that account. We must not flatter ourselves that the poison will reach no farther : a man who boggles not at perjury to serve a friend, will in time become such an adept, as to commit perjury in order to ruin a friend when he becomes an enemy.

men

men are so quick-sighted as clearly to see, that a foreign pension to a minister is no better than a bribe; and it would be held so by all the world.

In a nation enriched by conquest or commerce, where selfish passions always prevail, it is difficult to stem the tide of immorality: the decline of virtue may be retarded by wholesome regulations; but no regulations will ever restore it to its meridian vigour. Marcus Aurelius, Emperor of Rome, caused statues to be made of all the brave men who figured in the Germanic war. It has long been a practice in China, to honour persons eminent for virtue, by feasting them annually at the Emperor's expence. A late Emperor made an improvement: he ordered reports to be sent him annually, of men and women who when alive had been remarkable for public spirit or private virtue, in order that monuments might be erected to their memory. The following report is one of many that were sent to the Emperor. "According to the order of your Majesty, for erecting monuments to the honour of women, who have been celebrated for continence, for filial piety, or for purity of manners, the viceroy of Canton reports, that in the town of Sinhoei, a beautiful young woman, named *Leang*, sacrificed her life to save her chastity. In the fifteenth year of our Emperor Canghi, she was dragg'd by pirates into their ship; and having no other way to escape their brutal lust, she threw herself headlong into the sea. Being of opinion, that to prefer honour before life is an example worthy of imitation, we purpose, according to your Majesty's order, to erect a triumphal arch for that young woman, and to engrave her story upon a large stone, that it may be preserved in perpetual remembrance." At the foot of the report is written, *The Emperor approves.* Pity it is, that such regulations should ever prove abortive, for their purpose is excellent. But they would need angels to put them in execution. Every deviation from a
just

just selection enervates them; and frequent deviations render them a subject of ridicule. But how are deviations to be prevented, when men are the judges? Those who distribute the rewards will prefer their friends, and overlook those of greater merit. Like the censorian power in Rome, such regulations, after many abuses, will sink into contempt.

Two errors, which infected morality in dark times, have occasioned much injustice; and I am not certain, that they are yet totally eradicated. The first is an opinion, That an action derives its quality of right and wrong from the event, without regard to intention. The other is, That the end justifies the means; or, in other words, That means, otherwise unlawful, may be lawfully employ'd to bring about a good end. With an account of these two errors, I shall close the present historical sketch.

That intention is the circumstance which qualifies an action, and its author, to be criminal or innocent, is made evident in the first part of the present sketch, and is now admitted to be so by every moral writer. But rude and barbarous nations seldom carry their thoughts beyond what falls under their external senses: they conclude an action to be right that happens to do good, and an action to be wrong that happens to do harm; without ever thinking of motives, of Will, of intention, or of any circumstance that is not obvious to eye-sight. From many passages in the Old Testament it appears, that the external act only, with its consequences, were regarded. Isaac, imitating his father Abraham, made his wife Rebecca pass for his sister. Abimelech, King of the Philistines, having discovered the imposture, said to Isaac, "What is this thou hast done unto us? One of the people might lightly have lien with thy wife, and thou shouldst have brought guiltiness upon us (a)." Jonathan was condemned to die

(a) Genesis, chap. 26.

for transgressing a prohibition he had never heard of (*a*). A sin of ignorance, *i. e.* an action done without ill intention, required a sacrifice of expiation (*b*). Saul being defeated by the Philistines, fell on his own sword: the wound not being mortal, he prevailed on a young Amalekite, to pull out the sword, and to dispatch him with it. Josephus (*c*) says, that David ordered the criminal to be delivered up to justice as a regicide.

The Greeks appear to have wavered greatly about intention, sometimes holding it essential to a crime, and sometimes disregarding it as a circumstance of no moment. Of these contradictory opinions we have pregnant evidence in the two tragedies of Oedipus; the first taking it for granted, that a crime consists entirely in the external act and its consequences; the other holding intention to be indispensable. Oedipus had killed his father Laius, and married his mother Jocasta; but without any criminal intention, being ignorant of his relation to them. And yet history informs us, that the gods punished the Thebans with pestilence, for suffering a wretch so grossly criminal to live. Sophocles, author of both tragedies, puts the following words in the mouth of Tiresias the prophet.

——— Know then,
That Oedipus, in shameful bonds united,
With those he loves, unconscious of his guilt,
Is yet most guilty.

And that doctrine is espoused by Aristotle in a later period, who holding Oedipus to have been deeply criminal, tho' without intention, is of opinion, that a more proper subject for tragedy ne-

(*a*) 1 Samuel, xiv. 44.

(*b*) Leviticus, chap. 4.

(*c*) Book 3. of Antiquities.

ver was brought upon the stage. Nay as a philosopher he talks currently of an involuntary crime. Orestes, in Euripides, acknowledges himself to be guilty in killing his mother; yet asserts with the same breath, that his crime was inevitable, a necessary crime, a crime commanded by religion.

In Oedipus Coloneus, the other tragedy mentioned, a very different proposition is maintained. A defence is made for that unlucky man, agreeable to sound moral principles, that, having had no bad intention, he was entirely innocent; and that his misfortunes ought to be ascribed to the wrath of the gods.

Thou who upbraid'st me thus for all my woes,
 Murder and incest, which against my will
 I had committed; so it pleas'd the gods,
 Offended at my race for former crimes.
 But I am guiltless; can'st thou name a fault
 Deserving this? For, tell me, was it mine,
 When to my father, Phœbus did declare,
 That he should one day perish by the hand
 Of his own child; was Oedipus to blame,
 Who had no being then? If, born at length
 To wretchedness, he met his fire unknown,
 And slew him, that involuntary deed
 Can'st thou condemn? And for my fatal marriage,
 Dost thou not blush to name it? was not she
 Thy sister, she who bore me, ignorant
 And guiltless woman! afterwards my wife,
 And mother to my children? What she did, she did un-
 knowing.

But, not for that, nor for my murder'd father,
 Have I deserv'd thy bitter taunts: for, tell me,
 Thy life attack'd, wouldst thou have staid to ask

Th' affassin, if he were thy father? No;
 Self-love would urge thee to revenge the insult.
 Thus was I drove to ill by th' angry gods;
 This, shou'd my father's foul revisit earth,
 Himself would own, and pity Oedipus.

Again, in the fourth act, the following prayer is put up for Oedipus by the chorus.

————— O. grant,
 That not oppress'd by tort'ring pain
 Beneath the stroke of death he linger long;
 But swift, with easy steps, descend to Styx's drear abode;
 For he hath led a life of toil and pain;
 May the just gods repay his undeserved woe.

The audience was the same in both plays. Did they think Oedipus to be guilty in the one play, and innocent in the other? If they did not, how could both plays be relished? if they did, they must have been grossly stupid.

The statues of a Roman Emperor were held so sacred, that to treat them with any contempt was high treason. This ridiculous opinion was carried so far out of common sense, that a man was held guilty of high treason, if a stone thrown by him happened accidentally to touch one of these statues. And the law continued in force till abrogated by a rescript of Severus Antoninus (a).

In England, so little was intention regarded, that casual homicide, and even homicide in self-defence, were capitally punished. It requires strong evidence to vouch so absurd a law; and I have the strongest, viz. the act 52^o Henry III. cap. 26. converting the capital punishment into a forfeiture of moveables. The same gross blunder continued much longer to be law in Scotland. By act 19.

(a) l. 5. ad leg. Jul. Majest.

parl. 1649, renewed act 22. parl. 1661, the capital punishment is converted to imprisonment, or a fine to the wife and children. In a period so late as the Restoration, strange blindness it was, not to perceive, that homicide in self-defence, being a lawful act, justified by the strictest rules of morality, subjects not a man to punishment, more than the defending his property against a robber; and that casual homicide, meaning homicide committed innocently without ill intention, may subject him to reparation, but never to any punishment, mild or severe.

The Jesuits in their doctrines seem to rest on the external act, disregarding intention. It is with them a matter of perfect indifference, from what motive men obey the laws of God; and that the service of those who obey from fear of punishment, is no less acceptable to the Deity, than of those who obey from a principle of love *.

The other error mentioned above, is, That the end justifies the means. In defence of that proposition, it is urged, that the character of the means is derived from the end; that every action must be right which contributes to a good end, and that every action must be wrong which contributes to an ill end. But those who reason thus, ought first to consider, whether reasoning be at all applicable to the present subject. Reason is the true touchstone of truth and falsehood; but the moral sense is the only touchstone of right and wrong; and to maintain, that reason is our guide in judging of right and wrong, is no less absurd than to maintain,

* External show made a great figure, when nothing was regarded but what is visible. By acuteness of judgement, and refinement of taste, the pleasures of society prevail, and forms and ceremonies are disregarded. External show, however, continues to stand its ground in several instances. It occasions, in particular, many an ill-sorted match: a young man is apt to be captivated with beauty or dress; a young woman with equipage or a title.

that the moral sense is our guide in judging of truth and falsehood. The moral sense dictates, that on no pretext whatever is it lawful to do an act of injustice, or any wrong (*a*): and men, conscious that the moral sense governs in matters of right and wrong, submit implicitly to its dictates. Influenced however by the reasoning mentioned, during the nonage of the moral sense, men did wrong currently in order to bring about a good end; witness pretended miracles and forged writings, urged without reserve by every sect of Christians against their antagonists. And I am sorry to observe, that the error is not totally eradicated: missionaries employ'd in converting infidels to the true faith, are little scrupulous about the means: they make no difficulty to feign prodigies in order to convert those who are not moved by argument. Such pious frauds tend to sap the very foundations of morality.

(*a*) See the first part of this sketch, § 2. at the end.

S K E T C H

S K E T C H III.

Principles and Progress of THEOLOGY.

AS no branch of knowledge can vie with theology, either in dignity or importance, it justly claims to be a favourite study with every person endued with true taste and solid judgment. From the time that writing was invented, natural religion has employ'd pens without number; and yet in no language is there found a complete history of it. That task is far above my abilities: I propose only a flight sketch; which I shall glory in, however imperfect, if it excite any one of superior talents to undertake a task so arduous.

C H A P. I.

Existence of a DEITY.

THat there are beings, one or many, powerful above men, has been generally believed among the various tribes of men: I may say universally believed, notwithstanding what is reported of some gross savages; for reports repugnant to the common nature of man, require more able vouchers than a few illiterate voyagers. Among many savage tribes, there are no words
but

but for objects of external sense : is it surprising, that such people are incapable to express their religious perceptions, or any perception of internal sense ? and from their silence can it be fairly presumed, that they have no such perception * ? The belief of superior powers, in every country where there are words to express it, is so well vouched, that in fair reasoning it ought to be taken for granted among the few tribes where language is deficient. Even the grossest idolatry affords to me evidence of that belief. No nation can be so brutish as to worship a stock or a stone, merely as such. The visible object is always imagined to be connected with some invisible power ; and the worship paid to the former, is as representing the latter, or as in some manner connected with it. Every family among the ancient Lithuanians, entertained a real serpent as a household god ; and the same practice is at present universal, among the negroes in the kingdom of Whidah : it is not the serpent that is worshipped, but some deity imagined to reside in it. The ancient Egyptians were not idiots, to pay divine honours to a bull or a cat, as such : the divine honours were paid to a deity, as residing in these animals. The sun is to man a familiar object : as it is frequently obscured by clouds, and totally eclipsed during night, a savage readily conceives it to be a great fire, sometimes flaming bright, sometimes obscured, and sometimes extinguished. Whence then sun-worship, once universal among savages ? Plainly from the same cause : it is not properly the sun that is worshipped, but a deity who is supposed to dwell in that luminary.

* In the language even of Peru, there is not a word for expressing an abstract idea, such as *time, endurance, space, existence, substance, matter, body*. It is no less defective in expressing moral ideas, such as *virtue, justice, gratitude, liberty*. The Yameos, a tribe on the river Oroonoko, described by Condamine, use the word *poettarraroincouroac* to express the number three, and have no word for a greater number. The Brazilian language is nearly as barren.

Taking

count with a large portion of fear. Savages, grossly ignorant of causes and effects, take fright at every unusual appearance, and recur to some malignant power as the cause. Now, if the authors quoted mean only, that the first perception of deity among savages is occasioned by fear, I heartily subscribe to their opinion. But if it was their meaning, that such perceptions proceed from fear solely, without having any other cause, I wish to be informed, from what source is derived the belief we have of superior benevolent beings. Fear cannot be the source : and it will be seen anon, that tho' malevolent deities were first recognised among savages ; yet that in the progress of society, the existence of benevolent deities was universally believed. The fact is certain ; and therefore fear is not the sole cause of our believing the existence of superior beings.

It is beside to me evident, that the belief even of malevolent deities, once universal among all the tribes of men, cannot be accounted for from fear solely. I observe, first, That there are many men, to whom an eclipse, an earthquake, and even thunder, are unknown : Egypt in particular, tho' the country of superstition, is little or not at all acquainted with the two latter. Nor do such appearances strike terror into every one who is acquainted with them. The universality of the belief, must then have some cause more universal than fear. I observe next, That if the belief were founded solely on fear, it would die away gradually as men improve in the knowledge of causes and effects. Instruct a savage, that thunder, an eclipse, an earthquake, proceed from natural causes, and are not threatenings of an incensed deity ; his fear of malevolent beings will vanish ; and with it his belief in them, if founded solely on fear. Yet the direct contrary is true : in proportion as the human understanding ripens, our belief of superior powers, or of a Deity, turns more and more firm and authoritative ;

tive ; which will be made evident in the chapter immediately following.

Philosophers of more enlarged views, and of deeper penetration, may possibly think, that the operations of nature, and the government of this world, which loudly proclaim a Deity, may be sufficient to open the eyes of the grossest savages, and to convince them that there is a Deity. And to give due weight to the argument, I shall relate a conversation between a Greenlander and a Danish missionary, mentioned by Crantz in his history of Greenland. " It is true," says the Greenlander, " we were ignorant " Heathens, and knew little of a God, till you came. But you " must not imagine, that no Greenlander thinks about these " things. A kajak (*a*), with all its tackle and implements, cannot exist but by the labour of man ; and one who does not understand it, would spoil it. But the meanest bird requires " more skill than the best kajak ; and no man can make a bird. " There is still more skill required to make a man : by whom " then was he made ? He proceeded from his parents, and they " from their parents.' But some must have been the first parents : whence did they proceed ? Common report says, that " they grew out of the earth : if so, why do not men still grow " out of the earth ? And from whence came the earth itself, the " sun, the moon, the stars ? Certainly there must be some being who made all these things, a being more wise than the " wisest man." The reasoning here from effects to their causes, is stated with great precision ; and were all men equally penetrating with the Greenlander, such reasoning might perhaps be sufficient to account for the belief of Deity, universally spread among all savages. But such penetration is a rare quality among sava-

(*a*) A Greenland boat.

ges ; and yet the belief of superior powers is universal, not excepting even the grossest savages, who are altogether incapable of reasoning like our Greenland philosopher. Natural history has made so rapid a progress of late years, and the finger of God is so visible to us in the various operations of nature, that we do not readily conceive how even savages can be ignorant : but it is a common fallacy in reasoning, to judge of others by what we feel in ourselves. And to give juster notions of the condition of savages, I take liberty to introduce the Wogultzoi, a people in Siberia, as exhibiting a striking picture of savages in their natural state. That people were baptized at the command of Prince Gagarin, governor of the province ; and Laurent Lange, in his relation of a journey from Petersburg to Peking ann. 1715, gives the following account of their conversion. “ I had curiosity,” says he, “ to question them about their worship before they embraced Christianity. They said, that they had an idol hung upon a tree, before which they prostrated themselves, raising their eyes to heaven, and howling with a loud voice. They could not explain what they meant by howling ; but only, that every man howled in his own fashion. Being interrogated, Whether, in raising their eyes to heaven, they knew that a god is there, who sees all the actions, and even the thoughts of men ; they answered simply, That heaven is too far above them to know whether a god be there or not ; and that they had no care but to provide meat and drink. Another question was put, Whether they had not more satisfaction in worshipping the living God, than they formerly had in the darkness of idolatry ; they answered, We see no great difference ; and we do not break our heads about such matters.” Judge how little capable such ignorant savages are, to reason from effects to their causes, and to trace a Deity from the operations of nature. And it may be added with great certainty, that could they be made in any degree

gree to conceive such reasoning, yet so weak and obscure would their conviction be, as to rest there without moving them to any sort of worship; which however among savages goes hand in hand with the belief of superior powers.

To sum up this argument: As fear is a cause altogether insufficient for the belief of Deity, universal among all tribes; and as reasoning from effects to their causes can have no influence upon ignorant savages; what cause remains but nature itself? To make this belief universal, the image of the Deity must be stamp'd upon the mind of every human being, the ignorant equally with the knowing: nothing less is sufficient. And the perception we have of Deity must proceed from an internal cause, which may be termed the *sense of Deity*.

Included in the sense of Deity, is the duty we are under to worship him. And to enforce that duty, the principle of devotion is made a part of our nature. All men accordingly agree in worshipping superior beings, however they may differ in the mode of worship. And the universality of such worship, proves devotion to be an innate principle.

The perception we have of being accountable beings, arises from another branch of the sense of Deity. We expect approbation from the Deity when we do right; and dread punishment from him when guilty of any crime; not excepting the most occult crimes, hid from every mortal eye. From what cause can dread proceed in that case, but from belief of a superior being, avenger of wrongs? That dread, when immoderate, disorders the mind, and makes every unusual misfortune pass for a punishment inflicted by an invisible hand. “ And they said one to another, We are verily guilty concerning our brother, in that we saw the anguish of his soul, when he besought us, and we would not hear: therefore is this distress come upon us. And Reuben answered them, saying, Spake I not unto you, saying,

“ Do not sin against the child ; and ye would not hear ? there-
 “ fore behold also his blood is required (a).” Alphonfus King
 of Naples, was a cruel and tyrannical prince. He drove his people
 to despair with oppressive taxes, treacherously assassinated several
 of his barons, and loaded others with chains. During prosperity,
 his conscience gave him little disquiet ; but in adversity, his crimes
 star’d him in the face, and made him believe that his distresses pro-
 ceeded from the hand of God, as a just punishment. He was ter-
 rified to distraction, when Charles VIII. of France approached
 with a numerous army : he deserted his kingdom ; and fled to
 hide himself from the face of God and man.

But admitting a sense of Deity, is it evidence to us that a Deity
 actually exists ? The answer is, That it is complete evidence. So
 framed is man as to rely on the evidence of his senses (b) ; which
 evidence it is not in his power to reject, were he even disposed
 to be a sceptic. And experience confirms our belief ; for our sen-
 ses, when in order, never deceive us.

The foregoing sense of Deity is not the only evidence we have
 of his existence : there is additional evidence from other branches of
 our nature. Inherent in the nature of man are two passions, devotion,
 of which the Deity is the immediate and only object ; and dread of
 punishment, when one is guilty of any crime. These passions would
 be idle and absurd, were there no Deity to be worshipped or to
 be dreaded : they would be illusory passions, having no object :
 they would be the single instance of such irregularity ; and grossly
 irregular it would be, to be endued with passions or principles
 contrived for no end or purpose. Man makes a capital figure ;
 and is the most perfect being that inhabits this earth : how then
 is it possible to believe, that he should be endued with passions

(a) Genesis xlii. 21. 22.

(b) See *Essays on Morality and Natural Religion*, part 2. sect. 3.

contradictory

contradictory to the regular and beautiful laws which govern all other things here? It is not credible. The passions mentioned, both of them, direct us to a Deity, and afford us irresistible evidence of his existence.

Thus our Maker leaves no work of his imperfect: he has revealed himself to us, in a way perfectly analagous to our nature: in the mind of every human creature, he has lighted up a lamp, which renders him visible even to the weakest sight. Nor ought it to escape observation, that here, as in every other case, the conduct of Providence to man, is uniform. It leaves him to be directed by reason, where liberty of choice is permitted: but in matters of duty, he is provided with guides less fallible than reason: in performing his duty to man, he is guided by the moral sense; in performing his duty to God, he is guided by the sense of Deity. In these mirrors, he perceives his duty intuitively.

It is no slight support to this doctrine, that if there really be a Deity, it is highly presumable, that he will reveal himself to man, fitted by nature to adore and worship him. To other animals, the knowledge of a Deity is of no importance: to man, it is of high importance. Were we totally ignorant of a Deity, this world would appear to us a mere chaos: under the government of a wise and benevolent Deity, chance is excluded; and every event, the result of established laws, is perceived to be the best on the whole. Good men submit to whatever happens, without repining, trusting that every event is ordered by divine Providence: they submit with entire resignation; and such resignation is a sovereign balm to every misfortune.

The sense of Deity resembles our other senses, which lie dormant till a proper object present itself. When all is silent about us, the sense of hearing is dormant; and if from infancy a man were confined to a dark room, he would be as ignorant of the
sense

sense of seeing, as one born blind. Among savages, the objects that rouse the sense of Deity, are uncommon events above the power of man ; an earthquake, for example, a hurricane, a total eclipse of the sun, a sudden swell of a river that prevents their escape from an impending enemy. A savage, if he be acquainted with no events but what are familiar, has no perception of superior powers; but thunder rattling in his ears, or the convulsion of an earthquake, rouses in him the sense of Deity, and directs him to some superior being as the cause of these dreadful effects. The savage, it is true, errs in ascribing to the immediate operation of a Deity, things that have a natural cause ; his error however is evidence that he has a sense of Deity, no less pregnant, than when he more justly attributes to the immediate operation of Deity, the formation of man, of this earth, of all the world.

The sense of Deity, like the moral sense, makes no capital figure among savages ; the perceptions of both senses being in them faint and obscure. But in the progress of nations to maturity, these senses turn more and more vigorous, so as among enlightened nations to acquire a commanding influence ; leaving no doubt about right and wrong, and as little about the existence of a Deity.

The obscurity of the sense of Deity among savages, has encouraged some sceptical philosophers to deny its existence. It has been urged, That God does nothing by halves ; and that if he intended to make himself known to man, the sense of Deity would produce equal conviction with that of seeing or hearing. When we argue thus about the purposes of the Almighty, we tread on slippery ground, where we seldom fail to stumble. What if it be the purpose of the Deity, to afford us but an obscure glimpse of his being and attributes ? We have reason from analogy to conjecture, that this may be the case. From some particulars mentioned

mentioned above (a), it appears at least probable, that entire submission to the moral sense, would be ill-suited to man in his present state; and would prove more hurtful than beneficial. And to me it appears evident, that to be conscious of the presence of the Great God, as I am of a friend whom I hold by the hand, would be inconsistent with the part that Providence has destined me to act in this life. Reflect only on the restraint one is under, in presence of a superior, suppose the King himself: how much greater our restraint with the same lively impression of God's awful presence! Humility and veneration would leave no room for other passions: man would be no longer man; and the system of our present state would be totally subverted. Take another instance: Such a conviction of future rewards and punishments as to overcome every inordinate desire, would reduce us to the condition of a traveller in a paltry inn, having no wish but for day-light to prosecute his journey. For that very reason, it appears agreeable to the plan of Providence, that we should have but an obscure glimpse of futurity. As the same plan of Providence is visible in all, I conclude with assurance, that a certain degree of obscurity, weighs nothing against the sense of Deity, more than against the moral sense, or against a future state of rewards and punishments. Whether all men might not have been made angels, and whether more happiness might not have resulted from a different system, lie far beyond the reach of human knowledge. From what is known of the conduct of Providence, we have reason to presume, that our present state is the result of wisdom and benevolence. So much we know with certainty, that the sense we have of Deity and of moral duty, correspond accurately to the nature of man as an imperfect being; and that these senses, were they absolutely perfect, would unhinge his nature, and convert him into a very different being.

(a) Book 2. sketch 1.

A theory espoused by several writers ancient and modern, must not be overlooked; because it pretends to compose the world without a Deity; which would reduce the sense of Deity to be delusive, if it have any existence. The theory is, That the world, composed of animals, vegetables, and brute matter, is self-existent and eternal; and that all events happen by a necessary chain of causes and effects. In this theory, tho' wisdom and benevolence are conspicuous in every part, yet the great work of planning and executing the whole, is understood to have been done blindly without intelligence or contrivance. It is scarce necessary to remark, that this theory, assumed at pleasure, is highly improbable, if not absurd; and yet that it is left naked to the world without the least cover or support. But what I chiefly insist on is, that the endless number of wise and benevolent effects, display'd every where on the face of this globe, afford to us complete evidence of a wise and benevolent cause; and as these effects are far above the power of man, we necessarily ascribe them to some superior being, or in other words to the Deity (*a*). And this is sufficient to remove the present objection against the existence of a sense of Deity. But I am not satisfied with this partial victory. I proceed to observe, that nothing more is required but the proof of a Deity, to overturn the supposition of self-existence in a world composed of many heterogeneous parts, and of a chain of causes and effects framed without intelligence or foresight, tho' full of wisdom and contrivance in every part. For if a Deity exist, wise and powerful above all other beings, self-existence ought to be his peculiar attribute; and no person of rationality will have any hesitation in rejecting the self-existence of such a world, when so natural a supposition lies in view, as that the whole is the operation of the truly self-existent being,

(*a*) First sketch of this third book, sect. 1.

whose

whose power and wisdom are fully adequate to that arduous task.

Many gross and absurd conceptions of Deity that have prevailed among rude nations, are urged by some writers as another objection against a sense of Deity. That objection shall not be overlooked; but it will be answered to better purpose, after these gross and absurd conceptions are examined; which shall be done in the chapter immediately following.

The proof of a Deity from the innate sense here explained, differs materially from what is contained in essays on morality and natural religion (*a*). The proof there given is founded on a chain of reasoning, altogether independent on the innate sense of Deity. Both equally produce conviction; but as a sense operates intuitively without reasoning, the sense of Deity is made a branch of human nature, in order to enlighten those who are incapable of a long chain of reasoning; and to such, who make the bulk of mankind, it is more convincing, than the most perspicuous reasoning to a philosopher.

C H A P. II.

Progress of Opinions with respect to DEITY.

THE sense of Deity, like many other delicate senses, is in favours so faint and obscure as easily to be biased from truth. Among them, the belief of many superior beings, is universal. And two causes join to produce that belief. The first is, that be-

(*a*) Part 2. sect. 7.

ingaccustomed to a plurality of visible objects, men, mountains, trees, cattle, and such like, they are naturally led to imagine the same plurality in things not visible; and from that slight bias, slight indeed but natural, is partly derived the system of Polytheism, universal among savages. The other is, that savages know little of the connection between causes and effects, and still less of the order and government of this world: every event that is not familiar, appears to them singular and extraordinary; and if such event exceed human power, it is without hesitation ascribed to a superior being. But as it occurs not to a savage, nor to any person who is not a philosopher, that the many various events exceeding human power and seemingly unconnected, may all proceed from the same cause; they are readily ascribed to different beings. Pliny ascribes Polytheism to another cause, viz. the consciousness men have of their imbecility: "Our powers are confined within narrow bounds: we do not readily conceive powers in the Deity much more extensive; and we supply by number what is wanting in power." Polytheism, thus founded, is the first stage in the progress of theology; for it is embraced by the rudest savages, who have neither capacity nor inclination to pierce deeper into the nature of things.

The next stage is distinguishable from others, by a belief that all superior beings are malevolent. Man, by nature weak and helpless, is prone to fear, dreading every new object and every unusual event. Savages, having no protection against storms, tempests, or other external accidents, and having no pleasures but in gratifying hunger, thirst, and animal love, have much to fear, and little to hope. In that disconsolate condition, they attribute the bulk of their distresses to invisible beings, who in their opinion must be malevolent. This seems to have been the opinion of the Greeks in the days of Solon; as appears in a conversation between him and Cræsus King of Lydia, mentioned by Herodotus

Herodotus in the first book of his history. " Cræsus, said Solon, you ask me about human affairs; and I answer as one who thinks that all the gods are envious, and disturbers of mankind." The negroes on the coast of Guinea, dread their deities as tyrants and oppressors: having no conception of a good deity, they attribute the few blessings they receive, to the soil, to the rivers, to the trees, and to the plants. The Lithuanians continued Pagans down to the fourteenth century; and worshipped in gloomy woods, where their deities were held to reside. Their worship probably was prompted by fear, which is allied to gloominess or darkness. The people of Kamskatka acknowledge to this day many malevolent deities, having little or no notion of a good deity. They believe the air, the water, the mountains, and the woods, to be inhabited by malevolent spirits, whom they fear and worship. The savages of Guiana ascribe to the devil even their most common diseases; nor do they ever think of another remedy, but to apply to a sorcerer to drive him away. Such negroes as believe in the devil, paint his images white.

Conviction of superior beings, who, like men, are of a mixed nature, sometimes doing good, sometimes mischief, constitutes the third stage. This came to be the system of theology in Greece. The introduction of writing among the Greeks, while they were little better than savages, produced a compound of character and manners, that has not a parallel in any other nation. They were acute in science, skilful in fine arts, extremely deficient in morals, gross beyond conception in theology, and superstitious to a degree of folly; a strange jumble of exquisite sense and absurd nonsense. They held their gods to resemble men in their external figure, and to be corporeal. In the 21st book of the Iliad, Minerva with a huge stone beats Mars to the ground, whose monstrous body covered seven broad acres. As corporeal beings, they were supposed

to require the nourishment of meat, drink, and sleep. Homer mentions more than once the inviting of gods to a feast: and Pausanias reports, that in the temple of Bacchus at Athens, there were figures of clay, representing a feast given by Amphyction to Bacchus and other deities. The inhabitants of the island Java are not so gross in their conceptions, as to think that the gods eat the offerings presented to them: but it is their opinion, that a deity brings his mouth near the offering, sucks out all its favour, and leaves it tasteless like water *. The Grecian gods, as described by Homer, dress, bathe, and anoint, like mortals. Venus, after being detected by her husband in the embraces of Mars, retires to Paphos,

Where to the pow'r an hundred altars rise,
And breathing odours scent the balmy skies:
Conceal'd she bathes in consecrated bow'rs,
The Graces unguents shed, ambrosial show'rs,
Unguents that charm the gods! She last assumes
Her wondrous robes; and full the goddess blooms.

ODYSSEY, book 8.

Juno's dress is most poetically described, Iliad, book 14. It was also universally believed, that the gods were fond of women, and had many children by them. The ancient Germans thought more sensibly, that the gods were too high to resemble men in any degree, or to be confined within the walls of a temple. Led by the same impressions of deity, the Greeks seem to have thought, that the gods did not much exceed themselves in knowledge. When Agefilaus journeyed with his private retinue, he usually lodged in

* All Greek writers, and those in their neighbourhood, form the world out of a chaos. They had no such exalted notion of a deity as to believe, that he could make the world out of nothing.

a temple; making the gods witnesses, says Plutarch, of his most secret actions. The Greeks thought, that a god, like a man, might know what passed within his own house; without knowing any thing passing at a greater distance. Agamemnon, in *Eschylus*, putting off his travelling habit, and dressing himself in splendid purple, is afraid of being seen and envied by some jealous god. We learn from *Seneca*, that people strove for the seat next to the image of the deity, that their prayers might be the better heard. But what we have chiefly to remark upon this head, is, that the Grecian gods were, like men, held capable of doing both good and ill. Jupiter, their highest deity, was a ravisher of women, and a notorious adulterer. In the second book of the *Iliad*, he sends a lying dream to deceive Agamemnon. Mars seduces Venus by bribes to commit adultery (*a*). In the *Rhesus* of *Euripides*, Minerva, disguised like Venus, deceives Paris by a gross lie. The ground-work of the tragedy of *Xuthus* is a lying oracle, declaring Ion, son of Apollo and Creusa, to be the son of Xuthus. *Orestes* in *Euripides*, having slain his mother *Clytemnestra*, excuses himself as having been misled by Apollo to commit the crime. "Ah!" says he, "had I consulted the ghost of my father, he would have dissuaded me from a crime that has proved my ruin, without doing him any good." He concludes with observing, that having acted by Apollo's command, Apollo is the only criminal. In a tragedy of *Sophocles*, Minerva makes no difficulty to cheat Ajax, by promising to be his friend, while underhand she is serving Ulysses, his bitter enemy. Mercury, in revenge for the murder of his son Myrtilus, entails curses on Pelops the murderer, and on all his race *. In general, the gods, every

(b) *Odysses*, book 8.

* The English translator of that tragedy, observes it to be remarkable in the Grecian creed, that the gods punish the crimes of men upon their innocent posterity.

where

where in Greek tragedies, are partial, unjust, tyrannical, and revengeful. The Greeks accordingly have no reserve in maltreating their gods. In the tragedy of Prometheus, Jupiter, without the least ceremony, is accused of being an usurper. Eschylus proclaims publicly on the stage, that Jupiter, a jealous, cruel, and implacable tyrant, had overturned every thing in heaven; and that the other gods were reduced to be his slaves. In the Iliad, book 13. Menelaus addresses Jupiter in the following words: "O father Jove! in wisdom, they say, thou excellest both men and gods. Yet all these ills proceed from thee; for the wicked thou dost aid in war. Thou art a friend to the Trojans, whose souls delight in force, who are never glutted with blood." The gods were often treated with a sort of contemptuous familiarity, and employed in very low offices. Nothing is more common, than to introduce them as actors in Greek tragedies; frequently for trivial purposes: Apollo comes upon the stage most courteously to acquaint the audience with the subject of the play. Why is this not urged by our critics, as classical authority against the rule of Horace, *Nec deus interfit nisi dignus vindicæ nodus* *. Homer makes very useful servants of his gods. Minerva, in particular, is a faithful attendant upon Ulysses. She acts the herald, and calls the chiefs to council (a). She marks the place where a great stone fell that was thrown by Ulysses (b). She assists Ulysses to hide his treasure in a cave (c), and helps him to wrestle with the beggar (d). Ulysses being tost with cares in bed, she descends

* Nor let a god in person stand display'd,
Unless the labouring plot deserve his aid.

FRANCIS.

(a) Odyssey, book 8.

(b) Book 8.

(c) Book 13.

(d) Book 18.

from

from heaven to make him fall asleep (*a*). This last might possibly be squeez'd into an allegory, if Minerva were not frequently introduced where there is no place for an allegory. Jupiter, book 17. of the Iliad, is introduced comforting the steeds of Achilles for the death of Patroclus. It appears from Cicero (*b*), that when Greek philosophers began to reason about the deity, their notions were wonderfully crude. One of the hardest morsels to digest in Plato's philosophy, was his doctrine, That God is incorporeal; which by many was thought absurd, for that, without a body, he could not have senses, nor prudence, nor pleasure. The religious creed of the Romans seems to have been little less impure than that of the Greeks. It was a ceremony of theirs, in besieging a town, to evocate the tutelar deity, and to tempt him by a reward to betray his friends and votaries. In that ceremony, the name of the tutelar deity was thought of importance; and for that reason, the tutelar deity of Rome was a profound secret *. Appian
of

(*a*) Odyssey, book 26.

(*b*) Lib. 1. De natura deorum.

* The form of the *evocatio* follows. "Tuo ductu, inquit, Pythie Apollo, tuoque numine instinctus, pergo ad delendam urbem Veios: tibi que hinc decimam partem prædæ vovco. Te simul, Juno Regina, quæ nunc Veios colis, precor, ut nos victores in nostram tuamque mox futuram urbem sequare: ubi te, dignum amplitudine tua, templum accipiat." *Titus Livius, lib. 5. cap. 21.* — [*In English thus*: "Under thy guidance and divine inspiration, O Pythian Apollo, I march to the destruction of *Veii*; and to thy shrine I devote a tenth of the plunder. Imperial Juno, guardian of *Veii*, deign to prosper our victorious arms, and a temple shall be erected to thy honour, suitable to the greatness and majesty of thy name."] — But it appears from Macrobius, that they used a form of evocation even when the name of the tutelar deity was unknown to them. "Si deus, si dea est, cui populus civitasque Carthaginiensis est in tutela, teque maxime ille qui urbis hujus populique tutelam recipisti, precor, venerorque, veniamque a vobis peto, ut vos populum civitatemque Carthaginiensem deferatis, loca, templa, sacra, urbemque eorum relinquatis, absque his abeatis, eique populo,

of Alexandria, in his book of the Parthian war, reports, that Anthony, reduced to extremity by the Parthians, lifted up his eyes to heaven, and besought the gods, that if any of them were jealous of his former happiness, they would pour their vengeance upon his head alone, and suffer his army to escape. The story of Paris and the three goddesses gives no favourable impression, either of the morals or religion of the Romans. Juno and her two sister-deities submit their dispute about beauty to the shepherd Paris, who conscientiously pronounces in favour of Venus. But

————— *manet alta mente repostum*
Judicium Paridis, spreteque injuria formæ.

Juno, not satisfied with wreaking her malice against the honest shepherd, declares war against his whole nation. Not even Eneas, tho' a fugitive in foreign lands, escapes her fury. Their great god Jupiter is introduced on the stage by Plautus, to deceive Alcmena, and to lie with her in the shape of her husband. Nay, it was the opinion of the Romans, that this play made much for the honour of Jupiter; for in times of national troubles and calamities, it was commonly acted to appease his anger;—a most

“pulo, civitatieque metum, formidinem, oblivionem injiciatis, proditque Romanam
“ad me meosque veneatis, nostraque vobis loca, templa, sacra, urbs, acceptior
“probatorque sit, mihi que populoque Romano militibusque meis præpositi sitis,
“ut sciamus intelligamusque. Si ita feceritis, voveo vobis templa ludosque facturum.” *Saturnal. lib. 3. cap. 9.* — [*In English thus*: “That divinity, whether
“god or goddess, who is the guardian of the state of Carthage, that divinity I invoke, I pray and supplicate, that he will desert that perfidious people. Honour
“not with thy presence their temples, their ceremonies, nor their city, abandon
“them to all their fears, leave them to infamy and oblivion. Fly hence to Rome,
“where, in my country, and among my fellow-citizens, thou shalt have nobler
“temples, and more acceptable sacrifices; thou shalt be the tutelar deity of this
“army, and of the Roman state. On this condition, I here vow to erect temples
“and institute games to thine honour.”]

pregnant

pregnant instance of the gross conceptions of that warlike people in morality, as well as in religion.

A division of invisible beings into benevolent and malevolent, without any mixture of these qualities, makes the fourth stage. The talents and feelings of men, refine gradually under good government: social amusements begin to make a figure: benevolence is highly regarded; and some men are found without gall. Having thus acquired a notion of pure benevolence, and finding it exemplified in some persons, it was an easy step in the progress of theological opinions, to bestow the same character upon some superior beings. This led men to distinguish their gods into two kinds, essentially different; one entirely benevolent, another entirely malevolent; and the difference between good and ill, which are diametrically opposite, favoured that distinction. Fortunate events out of the common course of nature, were accordingly ascribed to benevolent deities; and unfortunate events of that kind, to malevolent. In the time of Pliny the elder, malevolent deities were worshipped at Rome. He mentions a temple dedicated to *Bad Fortune*, another to the disease termed a *Fever*. The Lacedemonians worshipped *Death* and *Fear*; and the people of Cadiz *Poverty* and *Old Age*; in order to deprecate their wrath. Such gods were by the Romans termed *Averrunci*, as putting away evil.

Conviction of one supreme benevolent Deity, and of inferior deities, some benevolent, some malevolent, is the fifth stage. Such conviction, which gains ground in proportion as morality ripens, arises from a remarkable difference between gratitude and fear. Willing to show my gratitude for some kindness proceeding from an unknown hand, several persons occur to my conjectures; but I always fix at last upon one person as the most likely. Fear is of an opposite nature: it expands itself upon every suspicious person, and blackens them all equally. Thus, upon providential good fortune above the power of man, we na-

turally rest upon one benevolent Deity as the cause; and to him we confine our gratitude and veneration. When, on the other hand, we are struck with an uncommon calamity, every thing that possibly may be the cause, raises terror in us. Hence the propensity in savages to multiply objects of fear; but to confine their gratitude and veneration to a single object. Gratitude and veneration, at the same time, are of such a nature, as to raise a high opinion of the person who is their object; and when a single invisible being is understood to pour out blessings with a liberal hand, good men, inflamed with gratitude, put no bounds to the power and benevolence of that being. And thus one supreme benevolent Deity comes to be recognised among the more enlightened savages. With respect to malevolent deities, as they are supposed to be numerous, and as there is no natural impulse for elevating one above another, they are all of them held to be of an inferior rank, subordinate to the supreme Deity.

Unity in the supreme being hath, among philosophers, a more solid foundation, viz. unity of design and of order in the creation and government of this world *. At the same time, the passion of gratitude, which leads even savages to the attribute of unity in the supreme being, prepares the mind for relishing the proof of that unity, founded on the unity of his works.

The belief of one supreme benevolent Deity, and of subordinate deities benevolent and malevolent, is and has been more universal than any other religious creed. I confine myself to a few in-

* All things in the universe are evidently of a piece. Every thing is adjusted to every thing; one design prevails through the whole: and this uniformity leads the mind to acknowledge one author; because the conception of different authors without distinction of attributes or operations, serves only to perplex the imagination, without bestowing any satisfaction on the understanding. *Natural history of Religion, by David Hume, Esquire.*

stances;

stances ; for a complete enumeration would be endless. The different savage tribes in Dutch Guiana, agree pretty much in their articles of faith. They hold the existence of one supreme Deity, whose chief attribute is benevolence ; and to him they ascribe every good that happens. But as it is against his nature to do ill, they believe in subordinate malevolent beings, like our devil, who occasion thunder, hurricanes, earthquakes, and who are the authors of death, diseases, and of every misfortune. To these devils, termed in their language *Yowahoots*, they direct every supplication, in order to avert their malevolence ; while the supreme Deity is entirely neglected : so much more powerful among savages, is fear than gratitude. The North-American savages have all of them a notion of a supreme Deity, creator and governor of the world, and of inferior deities, some good, some ill. These are supposed to have bodies, and to live much as men do, but without being subjected to any distress. The same creed prevails among the negroes of Benin and Congo, among the people of New Zeland, among the inhabitants of Java, of Madagascar, of the Molucca islands, and of the Caribbee islands. The Chinguliese, a tribe in the island of Ceylon, acknowledge one God creator of the universe, with subordinate deities who act as his deputies : agriculture is the peculiar province of one, navigation of another. The creed of the Tonquinese is nearly the same. The inhabitants of Otaheite, termed *King George's island*, believe in one supreme Deity ; and in inferior deities without end, who preside over particular parts of the creation. They pay no adoration to the supreme Deity, thinking him too far elevated above his creatures to concern himself with what they do. They believe the stars to be children of the sun and moon, and an eclipse to be the time of copulation. According to Arnobius, certain Roman deities presided over the various operations of men. Venus presided over carnal copulation ; Puta assisted at pruning trees ; and

Peta in requesting benefits ; Nemestrinus was god of the woods, Nodutus ripened corn, and Terensis helped to thresh it ; Vibilia assisted travellers ; orphans were under the care of Orbona, and dying persons, of Nænia ; Ossilago hardened the bones of infants ; and Mellonia protected bees, and bestow'd sweetness on their honey. The inhabitants of the island of Formosa recognise two supreme deities in company ; the one a male, god of the men, the other a female, goddess of the women. The bulk of their inferior deities are the souls of upright men, who are constantly doing good, and the souls of wicked men, who are constantly doing ill. The inland negroes acknowledge one supreme being, creator of all things ; attributing to him infinite power, infinite knowledge, and ubiquity. They believe that the dead are converted into spirits, termed by them *Iananini*, or protectors, being appointed to guard their parents and relations. The ancient Goths, and several other northern nations, acknowledged one supreme being ; and at the same time worshipped three subordinate deities ; Thor, reputed the same with Jupiter ; Oden, or Woden, the same with Mars ; and Friga, the same with Venus *. Socrates, taking the cup of poison from the executioner, held it up toward heaven, and pouring out some of it as an oblation to the supreme Deity, pronounced the following prayer : “ I implore the immortal God “ that my translation hence may be happy.” Then turning to Crito, said, “ O Crito ! I owe a cock to Esculapius, pay it.” From this incident we find that Socrates, soaring above his countrymen, had attained to the belief of a supreme benevolent Deity. But in that dark age of religion, such purity is not to be expected from

* *Regnator omnium Deus, cætera subjecta atque parentia ; Tacitus de moribus Germanorum, cap. 39. [In English thus : “ One God the ruler of all ; the rest “ inferior and subordinate.”]*

Socrates

Socrates himself, as to have rejected subordinate deities, even of the mercenary kind.

Different offices being assigned to the gods, as above mentioned, proper names followed of course. And when a god was ascertained by a name, the busy mind would naturally proceed to trace his genealogy.

As unity in the Deity was not an established doctrine in the countries where the Christian religion was first promulgated, Christianity could not fail to prevail over Paganism; for improvements in the mental faculties lead by sure steps, tho' slow, to one God.

The sixth stage is, the belief of one supreme benevolent Deity, as in that immediately foregoing, with many inferior benevolent deities, and one only who is malevolent. As men improve in natural knowledge, and become skilful in tracing causes from effects, they find much less malice and ill-design than was imagined: humanity at last prevails, which, in connection with improved knowledge, banishes the suspicion of ill-design, in every case where an event can possibly be explained without it. In a word, a settled opinion of good prevailing in the world, produced conviction among some nations, less ignorant than their neighbours, and less brutal, that there is but one malevolent subordinate deity, and good subordinate deities without number. The ancient Persians acknowledged two principles; one all good and all powerful, named *Hormuz*, and by the Greeks corruptly *Oromazes*; the other evil, named *Ahariman*, and by the Greeks *Arimanes*. Some authors assert, that the Persians held these two principles to be co-eternal: others, that *Oromazes* first subsisted alone, that he created both light and darkness, and that he created *Arimanes* out of darkness. That the latter was the opinion of the ancient Persians, appears from their Bible, termed the *Sadder*; which teaches, That there is one God supreme over all, many good angels, and but

one

one evil spirit. Plutarch acquaints us, that Hormuz and Ahari-man, for ever at variance, formed, each of them, creatures of their own stamp; that the former created good genii, such as goodness, truth, wisdom, justice; and that the latter created evil genii, such as infidelity, falsehood, oppression, theft. This system of theology, commonly termed the *Manichean system*, is said to be also the religious creed of Pegu, with the following addition, that the evil principle only is to be worshipped; which is abundantly probable, as fear is a predominant passion in barbarians. The people of Florida believe a supreme benevolent Deity, and a subordinate deity that is malevolent: neglecting the former, who, they say, does no harm, they bend their whole attention to soften the latter, who, they say, torments them day and night. The inhabitants of Darien acknowledge but one evil spirit, of whom they are desperately afraid. The Hottentots, mentioned by some writers as altogether destitute of religion, are, on the contrary, farther advanced toward its purity, than some of their neighbours. Their creed is, That there is a supreme being, who is goodness itself; of whom they have no occasion to stand in awe, as he is incapable by his nature to hurt them; that there is also a malevolent spirit, subordinate to the former, who must be served and worshipped in order to avert his malice. The Epicurean doctrine with respect to the gods in general, That being happy in themselves, they extend not their providential care to men, differs not widely from what the Hottentot believes with respect to the supreme being.

Having traced the sense of deity, from its dawn in the grossest savages, to its approaching maturity among enlightened nations, we proceed to the last stage of the progress, which makes the true system of theology; and that is, conviction of a supreme being, boundless in every perfection, without any subordinate deities, benevolent or malevolent. Savages learn early to trace the chain
of

of causes and effects, with respect to ordinary events : they know that fasting produces hunger, that labour occasions weariness, that fire burns, that the sun and rain contribute to vegetation. But when they go beyond such familiar events, they lose sight of cause and effect : the changes of weather, of winds, of heat and cold, impress them with a notion of chance : earthquakes, hurricanes, storms of thunder and lightning, which fill them with terror, are ascribed to malignant beings of greater power than man. In the progress of knowledge, light begins to break in upon them : they discover, that such phenomena, however tremendous, come under the general law of cause and effect, and that there is no ground for ascribing them to malignant spirits. At the same time, our more refined senses ripen by degrees : social affections come to prevail, and morality makes a deep impression. In maturity of sense and understanding, benevolence appears more and more ; and beautiful final causes are discovered in many of nature's productions, that formerly were thought useless, or perhaps destructive : and the time may come, we have solid ground to hope that it will come, when doubts and difficulties about the government of Providence, will all of them be cleared up ; and every event be found conducive to the general good. Such views of Providence banish malevolent deities ; and we settle at last in a most comfortable opinion ; either that there are no such beings ; or that, if they exist and are permitted to perpetrate any mischief, it is in order to produce greater good. Thus, through a long maze of errors, man arrives at true religion, acknowledging but one Being, supreme in power, intelligence, and benevolence, who created all other beings, to whom all other beings are subjected, and who directs every event to answer the best purposes. This system is true theology *.

Having

* Pliny seems to relish the doctrine of unity in the Deity ; but is at a loss about forming

Having gone through the different stages of religious belief, in its gradual progress toward truth and purity, I proceed to a very important article, viz. The history of tutelar deities. The belief of tutelar deities preceded indeed several of the stages mentioned, witness the tutelar deities of Greece and Rome; but as it is not connected with any one of them exclusive of the rest, the clearness of method required it to be postponed to all of them. This belief, founded on selfishness, made a rapid progress after property in the goods of fortune was established. The Greeks, the Romans, and indeed most nations that were not mere savages, appropriated to themselves tutelar deities, who were understood to befriend them upon all occasions; and, in particular, to fight for them against their enemies. The Iliad of Homer is full of miraculous battles between the Greeks and Trojans, the tutelar deities mixing with the contending parties, and partaking of every disaster, death only excepted, which immortals could not suffer. The *lares*, *penates*, or household-gods, of Indostan, of Greece, and of Rome, bear witness, that every family, perhaps every person, was thought to be under the protection of a tutelar deity. Alexander ab Alexandro gives a list of tutelar deities. Apollo and Minerva were the tutelar deities of Athens; Bacchus and Hercules of the Bœotian Thebes; Juno of Carthage, Samos, Sparta, Argos, and Mycené; Venus of Cyprus; Apollo of Rhodes, and of Delphos; Vulcan of Lemnos; Bacchus of Naxos; Neptune of Tenedos, &c. The poets testify, that even individuals had tutelar deities:

Mulciber in Trojam, pro Troja stabat Apollo;
 Æqua Venus Teucris, Pallas iniqua fuit.
 Oderat Æneam, propior Saturnia Turno;
 Ille tamen Veneris numine tutus erat.

forming any just conception of him, sometimes considering the world to be our only deity, sometimes the sun.

Sæpe

Sæpe ferox cautum petiit Neptunus Ulyssæm ;
Eripuit patruo sæpe Minerva suo * (a).

Though the North-American savages recognise a supreme Being, wise and benevolent, and also subordinate benevolent beings who are intrusted with the government of the world ; yet as the great distance of these subordinate beings, and the full occupation they have in general government, are supposed to make them overlook individuals, every man has a tutelar deity of his own, termed *Manitou*, who is constantly invoked during war to give him victory over his enemies. The Natches, bordering on the Mississippi, offer up the skulls of their enemies to their god, and deposit them in his temple. They consider that being as their tutelar deity who assists them against their enemies, and to whom therefore the skull of an enemy must be an acceptable offering. Tho' they worship the sun, who impartially shines on all mankind ; yet such is their partiality, that they consider themselves as his chosen people, and that their enemies are his enemies.

A belief so absurd shows woful imbecility in human nature. Is it not obvious, that the great God of heaven and earth, governs the world by inflexible laws, from which he never can swerve in any case, because they are the best possible in every case ? To suppose any family or nation to be an object of his peculiar love, is no less impious, than to suppose any family or nation to be an

- * " The rage of Vulcan, and the martial maid,
" Pursu'd old Troy ; but Phœbus' love repay'd.
" *Æneas* safe, defy'd great Juno's hate,
" For Venus guards her favour'd offspring's fate :
" In vain Ulysses Neptune's wrath assails,
" O'er winds and waves Minerva's power prevails."

(a) Ovid. Trist. lib. i. eleg. 2.

object of his peculiar hatred : they equally arraign Providence of partiality. Even the Goths had more just notions of the Deity. Totila, recommending to his people justice and humanity, says, “ Quare sic habete, ea quæ amari ab hominibus solent ita vobis
 “ salva fore, si justitiæ reverentiam servaveritis. Si transitis in
 “ mores alios, etiam Deum ad hostes transiturum. Neque enim
 “ ille, aut omnibus omnino hominibus, aut uni alicui genti, ad-
 “ dicit se socium *.”

That God was once the tutelar deity of the Jews, is true ; but not in the vulgar acceptation of that term, importing a deity chosen by a people to be their patron and protector. The orthodox faith is, “ That God chose the Jews as his peculiar people, not
 “ from any partiality to them, but that there might be one nation
 “ to keep alive the knowledge of one supreme Deity ; which should
 “ be prosperous while they adhered to him, and unprosperous when
 “ they declined to idolatry ; not only in order to make them persevere
 “ in the true faith, but also in order to exemplify to all nations the
 “ conduct of his Providence.” It is certain, however, that the perverse Jews claimed God Almighty as their tutelar deity, in the vulgar acceptation of the term. And this error throws light upon an incident related in the Acts of the Apostles. There was a prophecy firmly believed by the Jews, that the Messiah would come among them in person to restore their kingdom. The Christians gave a different sense to the prophecy, viz. that the kingdom promised was not of this world. And they said, that Christ was sent to pave

* “ Be assured of this, that while ye preserve your reverence for justice, ye will
 “ enjoy all the blessings which are estimable among mankind. If ye refuse to obey
 “ her dictates, and your morals become corrupted, God himself will abandon you,
 “ and take the part of your enemies. For altho’ the benevolence of that power
 “ is not partially confined to tribe or people, yet in the eye of his justice all men
 “ are not equally the objects of his approbation.”

the way to their heavenly kingdom, by obtaining forgiveness of their sins. At the same time, as the Jews held all other nations in abhorrence, it was natural for them to conclude, that the Messiah would be sent to them only, God's chosen people; for which reason, even the apostles were at first doubtful about preaching the gospel to any but to the Jews (*a*). But the apostles reflecting, that it was one great purpose of the mission, to banish from the Jews their groveling and impure notion of a tutelar deity, and to proclaim a state of future happiness to all who believe in Christ, they proceeded to preach the gospel to all men: "Then Peter opened his mouth, and said, Of a truth I perceive, that God is no respecter of persons: but in every nation, he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him (*b*)."

The foregoing reasoning, however, did not satisfy the Jews: they could not digest the opinion, that God sent his Messiah to save all nations; and that he was the God of the Gentiles as well as of the Jews. They stormed against Paul in particular for inculcating that doctrine (*c*).

Considering that religion in its purity was established by the gospel, is it not amazing, that even Christians fell back to the worship of tutelar deities? They did not indeed adopt the absurd opinion, that the supreme Being was their tutelar deity: but they held, that there are divine persons subordinate to the Almighty, who take under their care nations, families, and even individuals; an opinion that differs not essentially from that of tutelar deities among the Heathens. That opinion, which flatters self-love, took root in the fifth century, when the deification of saints was introduced, similar to the deification of heroes among the an-

(*a*) See the 10th and 11th chapters of the Acts of the Apostles.

(*b*) Acts of the Apostles, x. 34.

(*c*) Acts of the Apostles, chap. 13.

cients. With regard to matters spiritual, as well as temporal, people are fond of friends to be their intercessors; and with regard to the Deity, deified saints were thought the properest intercessors. Temples were built and dedicated to them, and solemn rites of worship instituted to render them propitious. It was imagined, that the souls of deified saints are at liberty to roam where they list, and that they love the places where their bodies are interred; which accordingly made the sepulchres of the saints a common rendezvous of supplicants. What paved the way to notions so absurd, was the gross ignorance that clouded the Christian world after the northern barbarians became masters of Europe. In the seventh century, the bishops were so illiterate, as to be indebted to others for the shallow sermons they preached; and the very few of that order who had any learning, satisfied themselves with composing insipid homilies, collected from the writings of Augustin and Gregory. In the ninth century, matters grew worse and worse; for these saints, held at first to be mediators for Christians in general, were now converted into tutelar deities in the strictest sense. An opinion prevailed, that such saints as are occupied about the souls of Christians in general, have little time for individuals; which led every church, and every private Christian, to elect for themselves a particular saint, as their peculiar patron or tutelar deity. That practice made it necessary to deify saints without end, in order to furnish a tutelar deity to every individual. The dubbing of saints, became a new source of abuses and frauds in the Christian world: lying wonders were invented and fabulous histories composed, to celebrate exploits that never were performed, and to glorify persons that never had a being. And thus religion among Christians, sunk down into as low a state as it had been among Pagans.

There still remains upon hand a capital branch of our history; and that is idolatry, which properly signifies the worshipping visible

fible objects as deities. But as idolatry evidently sprung from religious worship, corrupted by the ignorant and brutish, it will make its appearance with more advantage in the next section, of which religious worship is the subject.

We have thus traced with wary steps, the gradual progress of theology through many stages, corresponding to the gradual openings and improvements of the human mind. But tho' that progress in almost all countries appears uniform with respect to the order of succession, it is far otherwise with respect to the quickness of succession: nations, like individuals, make a progress from infancy to maturity; but they advance not with an equal pace, some making a rapid course toward perfection in knowledge and in religion, while others remain ignorant barbarians. The religion of Hindostan, if we credit history or tradition, had advanced to a considerable degree of purity and refinement, at a very early period. The Hindostan Bible, termed *Chatabbade* or *Shastah*, gives an account of the creation, lapse of the angels, and creation of man; instructs us in the unity of the Deity, but denies his prescience as being inconsistent with free-will in man; all of them profound doctrines of an illuminated people; to establish which a long course of time must have been requisite, after wandering through errors without number. Compared with the Hindows in theology, even the Greeks were mere savages. The Grecian gods were held to be little better than men, and their history, as above mentioned, corresponds to the notion entertain'd of them.

In explaining the opinions of men with respect to Deity, I have confined my view to such opinions as are suggested by principles or biases that make a part of common nature; omitting many whimsical notions, no better than dreams of a roving imagination. The plan delineated shows wonderful uniformity in the progress of religion through all nations. That the whimsical notions

tions mentioned are far otherwise, is not wonderful. Take the following specimen. The Kamskatkans are not so stupidly ignorant, as to be altogether void of curiosity. They sometimes think of natural appearances.—Rain, say they, is some deity pissing upon them; and they imagine the rainbow to be a party-coloured garment, put on by him in preparing for that operation. They believe wind to be produced by a god shaking his long hair about his head with violence. Such tales will scarce amuse children in the nursery. The inhabitants of the island Celebes formerly acknowledged no gods but the sun and the moon, which were held to be eternal. Ambition for superiority made them fall out. The moon being wounded in flying from the sun, was delivered of the earth.

Hitherto of the gradual openings of the human mind with respect to Deity. I close this section with an account of some unfound notions concerning the conduct of Providence, and concerning some speculative matters. I begin with the former.

In days of ignorance, the conduct of Providence is very little understood. Far from having any notion, that the government of this world is carried on by general laws, which are inflexible because they are the best possible, every important event is attributed to an immediate interposition of the Deity. As the Grecian gods were thought to have bodies like men, and like men to require nourishment; they were imagined to act like men, forming short-sighted plans of operation, and varying them from time to time according to exigencies. Even the wise Athenians, had an utter aversion at philosophers who attempted to account for effects by general laws: such doctrine they thought tended to fetter the gods, and to prevent them from governing events at their pleasure. An eclipse being held to be a prognostic given by the gods of some grievous calamity, Anaxagoras was accused of Atheism for attempting to explain the eclipse of the moon by natural causes:

ses: he was thrown into prison, and with difficulty was relieved by the influence of Pericles. Protagoras was banished Athens for maintaining the same doctrine. Procopius overflows with signal interpositions of Providence; and Agathias, beginning at the battle of Marathon, sagely maintains, that from that time downward, there was not a battle lost, but by an immediate judgment of God, for the sins of the commander, or of his army, or of one person or other. Our Saviour's doctrine with respect to those who suffered by the fall of the tower of Siloam, ought to have opened their eyes; but superstitious eyes are never opened by instruction. At the same time, it is deplorable that such belief has no good influence on manners: on the contrary, never doth wickedness so much abound as in dark times. A curious fact is related by Procopius (*a*) with respect to that sort of superstition. When Rome was besieged by the Goths, and in danger of destruction, a part of the town-wall, declining from the perpendicular, was in a tottering condition. Belisarius, proposing to fortify it, was opposed by the citizens, affirming, that it was guarded by St Peter. Procopius observes, that the event answered expectation; for that the Goths, during a tedious siege, never once attempted that weak part. He adds, that the wall remained in the same ruinous state at the time of his writing. Here is a curious conceit:—Peter created a tutelar deity, able and willing, for the sake of his votaries, to counteract the laws by which God governs the material world. And for what mighty benefit to them? Only to save them five or fifty pounds in rebuilding the crazy part of the wall.

It is no less inconsistent with the regular course of Providence, to believe, as many formerly did, that in all doubtful cases the Almighty, when appealed to, never fails to interpose in favour of

(*a*) *Historia Gothica*, lib. I.

the right side. The inhabitants of Constantinople, ann. 1284, being split into parties about two-contending patriarchs, the Emperor ordered a fire to be made in the church of St Sophia, and a memorial from each party to be thrown into it; never doubting, but that God would save from the flames the memorial of the party whose cause he espoused. But, to the utter astonishment of all beholders, the flames paid not the least regard to either of the memorials. The same absurd opinion gave birth to the trial by fire, by water, and by singular battle. And it is not a little remarkable, that such trials were common among many nations that had no intercourse one with another: even the enlightened people of Indostan try crimes by dipping the hand of a suspected person in boiling oil.—Such uniformity is there with respect even to superstitious opinions. Pope Gregory VII. insisting, that the Kings of Castile and Aragon should lay aside their Gothic liturgy for the Romish, the matter was put to trial by singular battle; and two champions were chosen, to declare by victory the opinion of God Almighty. The Emperor Otho I. observing the doctors to differ about a point of law, viz. the right of representation in land-estates, appointed a duel; and the right of representation gained the victory. If any thing can render such a doctrine palatable, it is the believing in a tutelar deity, who with less absurdity may interpose in behalf of a favourite opinion, or of a favourite people. Appian gravely reports, that when the city of Rhodes was besieged by Mithridates, a statue of the goddess Isis was seen to dart flames of fire upon a bulky engine, raised by the besiegers to overtop the wall.

Historians mention an incident that happened in the island Celebes, founded on a belief of the same kind with that above mentioned. About two centuries ago, some Christian and some Mahometan missionaries made their way to that island. The chief king, struck with the fear of hell taught by both, assembled

a general council ; and extending his hands toward heaven, addressed the following prayer to the supreme being. “ Great
 “ God, from thee I demand nothing but justice, and to me thou
 “ owest it. Men of different religions have come to this island,
 “ threatening eternal punishment to me and my people if we dis-
 “ obey thy laws. What are thy laws ? Speak, O my God, who
 “ art the author of nature : thou knowest the bottom of our
 “ hearts, and that we can never intentionally disobey thee. But
 “ if it be unworthy of thy essence to employ the language of men,
 “ I call upon my whole people, the sun which gives me light,
 “ the earth which bears me, the sea which surrounds my empire,
 “ and upon thee thyself, to bear witness for me, that in the sin-
 “ cerity of my heart I wish to know thy will ; and this day I de-
 “ clare, that I will acknowledge as the depositaries of thy oracles,
 “ the first ministers of either religion that shall land on this island.”

It is equally erroneous to believe, that certain ceremonies will protect one from mischief. In the dark ages of Christianity, the signing with the figure of a cross, was held not only to be an antidote against the snares of malignant spirits, but to inspire resolution for supporting trials and calamities : for which reason no Christian in those days undertook any thing of moment, till he had used that ceremony. It was firmly believed in France, that a gold or silver coin of St Louis, hung from the neck, was a protection against all diseases : and we find accordingly a hole in every remaining coin of that king, for fixing it to a riband. In the minority of Charles VIII. of France, the three estates, ann. 1484, supplicated his Majesty, that he would no longer defer the being anointed with the holy oil, as the favour of Heaven was visibly connected with that ceremony. They affirmed, that his grandfather Charles VII. never prospered till he was anointed ; and that Heaven afterward fought on his side, till the English were expelled out of his kingdom. The high altar of St Margaret's

church in the island of Icolmkill, was covered with a plate of blue marble finely veined; which has suffered from a superstitious conceit, that the smallest bit of it will preserve a ship from sinking. It has accordingly been carried off piece-meal; and at present there is scarce enough left to make an experiment. In the Sadder, certain prayers are enjoined when one sneezes or piffes, in order to chase away the devil. Cart-wheels in Lisbon, are composed of two boards clumsily cut in a circular form, and nailed together. Tho' the noise is intolerable, yet the axles are never greased, because the noise, say they, frightens the devil from hurting their oxen.

Nay, so far has superstition been carried, as to found a belief, that the devil by magic can control the course of Providence. A Greek bishop having dreamed, that a certain miracle had failed by magic, the supposed magician and his son were condemned to die, without the least evidence but the dream. Montesquieu collects a number of circumstances, each of which, tho' all extremely improbable, ought to have been clearly made out, in order to prove the crime (a). The Emperor Theodore Lascaris, imagining magic to be the cause of his distemper, put the persons suspected to the trial of holding a red-hot iron without being burnt. In the capitularies of Charlemagne, in the canons of several councils, and in the ancient laws of Norway, punishments are enacted against those who are supposed able to raise tempests, termed *Tempestarii*. During the time of Catharine de Medicis, in the court of France there was a jumble of politics, gallantry, luxury, debauchery, superstition, and Atheism. It was common to take the resemblance of enemies in wax, in order to torment them by roasting the figure at a slow fire, and pricking it with needles. If

(a) L'Esprit des loix, lib. 12. ch. 5.

an enemy happened in one instance of a thousand to pine and die, the charm was established for ever. Sorcery and witchcraft were so universally believed in England, that in a preamble to a statute of Henry VIII. ann. 1511, it is set forth, "That smiths, weavers, " and women, boldly take upon them great cures, in which they " partly use sorcery and witchcraft." The first printers, who were Germans, having carried their books to Paris for sale, were condemned by the parliament to be burnt alive as forcerers; and did not escape punishment but by a precipitant flight. It had indeed much the appearance of sorcery, that a man could write so many copies of a book, without the slightest variation.

There are many examples of extraordinary virtue being attributed to certain things, in themselves of no significancy. The Hungarians were possessed of a golden crown, sent from heaven with the peculiar virtue, as they believed, of bestowing upon the person who wore it, an undoubted title to be their king.

But the most extraordinary effort of absurd superstition, is a persuasion, that one may control the course of Providence, by making a downright bargain with God Almighty to receive from him *quid pro quo*. A herd of Tartars in Siberia, named by the Russians *Baravinskoi*, have in every hut a wooden idol, termed in their language *Sheitan*, about eighteen inches high, to which they address their prayers for plenty of game in hunting, promising to give it, if successful, a new coat or a new bonnet: a sort of bargain abundantly brutish; and yet more excusable in mere savages, than what is made with the Virgin Mary by enlightened Roman Catholics; who, upon condition of her relieving them from distress, promise her a waxen taper to burn on her altar. Philip II. of Spain made a vow, that, upon condition of gaining the battle of St Quintin, he would build the monastery of Escorial; as if an establishment for some idle monks, could be a motive with

the great God to vary the course of his Providence *. Beside the absurdity of thinking that such vows can have the effect to alter the established laws of Providence, they betray a most contemptible notion of the Deity, as if his favours, like a horse or a cow, could be purchased with money.

But however loose and disjointed, events appear to the ignorant, when viewed as past, or as passing, future events take on a very different appearance. The doctrine of prognostics is evidently founded upon a supposition, that future events are unalterably fixed ; for otherwise that doctrine would appear absurd, even to the most ignorant. There is no bias in human nature that has greater influence, than curiosity about futurity ; which in dark ages governs without control : men with no less folly than industry have ransacked the earth, the sea, the air, and even the stars, for prognostics of future events. The Greeks had their oracles, the Romans their augurs, and all the world their omens. The Grecian oracles and the Roman auguries are evidently built upon their belief of tutelar deities ; and the numberless omens that influence weak people in every country, seem to rest upon the same foundation †. Ancient histories are stuffed with omens, prodigies,

* Having gained the battle of St Quintin on the festival of St Laurence, Philip reckoned himself obliged to the saint for this victory, no less than to God Almighty ; and accordingly, he not only built the monastery he had vowed, but also a church for the saint and a palace for himself, all under one roof : and what is not a little ludicrous, the edifice is built in resemblance of a gridiron, which, according to the legend, was the instrument of Laurence's martyrdom.

† It is no wonder that the Romans were superstitiously addicted to omens and auguries : like mere savages, they put no value upon any science but that of war ; and, for that reason, they banished all philosophers, as useless members of society. Thus, that nation, so fierce and so great in war, surrendered themselves blindly to superstition, and became slaves to imaginary evils. Even their gravest historians were deeply tainted with that disease.

gies, and prognostics : Livy overflows with fooleries of that kind. Endless are the adverse omens reported by Appian of Alexandria, that are said to have given warning of the defeat of Crassus by the Parthians ; and no fewer in number are those which happened at the death of the Emperor Hadrian, if we believe Spartianus. Lampridius, with great gravity, recites the omens which prognosticated that Alexander Severus would be Emperor : he was born the same day on which Alexander the Great died : he was brought forth in a temple dedicated to Alexander the Great : he was named *Alexander* ; and an old woman gave to his mother, a pigeon's egg of a purple colour produced on his birthday. A comet is an infallible prognostic of the death of a king. But of what king ? Why, of the king who dies next. Suetonius, with the solemnity of a pulpit-instructor, informs us, that the death of the Emperor Claudius was predicted by a comet ; and of Tiberius, by the fall of a tower during an earthquake. Such opinions, which indeed have some foundation in our nature, take fast hold of the mind, when invigorated by education and example. Even philosophy is not sufficient to eradicate them but by slow degrees : witness Tacitus, the most profound of all historians, who cannot forbear to usher in the death of the Emperor Otho, with a foolish account of a strange unknown bird appearing at that time. He indeed, with decent reserve, mentions it only as a fact reported by others ; but from the warm style of his narrative it is evident, that the story had made an impression upon him. The ancient Germans drew many of their omens from horses : “ *Proprium gentis, equorum*
“ *presagia ac monitus experiri. Publice aluntur iisdem nemo-*
“ *ribus ac lucis, candide, et nullo mortali opere contacti, quos*
“ *pressos sacro curru, sacerdos, ac rex, vel princeps civitatis, comi-*
“ *tantur, hinnitusque ac fremitus observant. Nec ulli auspicio*
“ *major fides, non solum apud plebem, sed apud procures, apud*
“ *sacerdotes*

“ facerdotes * (a).” There is scarce a thing seen or imagined, but what the inhabitants of Madagascar consider as a prognostic of some future event. The Hindows rely on the augury of birds, precisely as the old Romans did. Tho’ there is not the slightest probability, that an impending misfortune was ever prevented by such prognostics; yet the desire of knowing future events is so deeply rooted in our nature, that omens will always prevail among the vulgar, in spite of the clearest light of philosophy †.

With respect to prophecies in particular, one apology may be made for them, that no other prognostic of futurity is less apt to do mischief. What Procopius (b) observes of the Sybilline oracles, is equally applicable to prophecies in general, “ That it is above
“ the sagacity of man to explain any of them before the event
“ happen.” After perusing many, he gives the following reason.
“ Matters are there handled,” says he, “ not in any order, nor in
“ a continued discourse: but after mentioning the distresses of A-
“ frica, for example, they give a slight touch at the Persians, the
“ Romans, the Assyrians; then returning to the Romans, they

* “ It is peculiar to that people, to deduce omens and presages from horses.
“ These animals are maintained at the public expence, in groves and forests, and
“ are not allowed to be polluted with any work for the use of man; but being
“ yoked in the sacred chariot, the priest, and the king, or chief of the state, at-
“ tend them, and carefully observe their neighings. The greatest faith is given to
“ this method of augury, both among the vulgar and the nobles.”

† Is it not mortifying to human pride, that a great philosopher [*Bacon*] should think like the vulgar upon this subject? Mentioning great rejoicings in London upon the daughter of Henry VII. of England being married to James IV. of Scotland, he adds, “ not from any affection to the Scots, but from a secret instinct
“ and inspiration of the advantages that would accrue from the match.”

(a) Tacitus, *De moribus Germanorum*, cap. 10.

(b) *Gothica Historia*, lib. 1.

“ fall

“ fall flap-dash upon the calamities of Britain.” A curious example of this observation, is a book of prophecies composed in Scotland by Thomas Learmont, commonly called *Thomas the Rhymer*, because the book is in rhyme. Plutarch, in the life of Cicero, reports, that a spectre appeared to Cicero’s nurse, and foretold, that the child would become a great support to the Roman state; and most innocently he makes the following reflection: “ This might have passed for an idle tale, had not Cicero “ demonstrated the truth of the prediction;” which in effect is saying, that if a prediction happen to prove true, it is a real prophecy; if otherwise, that it is an idle tale. There have been prophecies not altogether so well guarded as the Sybilline oracles. Napier, inventor of the logarithms, found the day of judgement predicted in the Revelation; and named the very day; which unfortunately he survived. He made another prediction, but prudently named a day so distant, as to be in no hazard of blushing a second time. Michel Stifels, a German clergyman, spent most of his life in attempting to discover the day of judgement; and at last announced to his parishioners, that it would happen within a year. The parishioners, resolving to make the best of a bad bargain, spent their time merrily, taking no care to lay up provisions for another year; and so nice was their calculation, as at the end of the year to have not a morsel remaining, either of food or of industry. The famous Jurieu has shown great ingenuity in explaining prophecies; of which take the following instance. In his book, intitled, *Accomplishment of the prophecies*, he demonstrates, that the beast in the Apocalypse, which held the *poculum aureum plenum abominationum* *, is the Pope; and his reason is, that the initial letters of these four Latin words compose the word *papa*; a very singular prophecy indeed, that is a prophecy

* “ The golden cup full of abominations.”

in Latin, but in no other language. The candid reader will advert, that such prophecies as relate to our Saviour, and tend to ascertain the truth of his mission, fall not under the foregoing reasoning; for they do not anticipate futurity, by producing foreknowledge of future events. They were not understood till our Saviour appeared among men; and then they were clearly understood as relative to him.

There is no end of superstition in its various modes. It was believed universally in dark times, that by certain forms and invocations, the spirits of the dead could be called upon to reveal future events. A lottery in Florence, gainful to the government, and ruinous to the people, gives great scope to superstition. The purchaser of tickets, in order to be successful, must fast six and thirty hours, must repeat a certain number of Ave Maries and Pater Nosters, must not speak to a living creature, must not go to bed, must continue in prayer to the Virgin, and to saints, till some propitious saint appear and declare the numbers that are to be successful. The ticket-holder, fatigued with fasting, praying, and expectation, falls asleep. Occupied with the thoughts he had when awake, he dreams that a saint appears, and mentions the numbers that are to be successful. If he be disappointed, he is vexed at his want of memory; but trusts in the saint as an infallible oracle. Again he buys tickets, again falls asleep, again sees a vision, and again is disappointed.

Lucky and unlucky days, which were so much rely'd on as even to be marked in the Greek and Roman calendars, make an appendix to prophecies. The Tartars never undertake any thing of moment on a Wednesday, being held by them unlucky. The Nogayan Tartars hold every thirteenth year to be unlucky: they will not even wear a sword that year, believing that it would be their death; and they maintain, that none of their warriors ever returned who went upon an expedition in one of these years. They
pass

pass that time in fasting and prayer, and during it never marry. The inhabitants of Madagascar have days fortunate and unfortunate with respect to the birth of children: they destroy without mercy every child that is born on an unfortunate day.

I close this important article with a reflection that ought to make an impression upon every rational mind. The knowledge of future events, as far as it tends to influence our conduct, is inconsistent with a state of trial, such as Providence has allotted to man in this life. It would deprive him of hopes and fears, and leave him nothing to deliberate upon, nor any end to prosecute. In a word, it would put an end to his activity, reduce him to be merely a passive being. Providence therefore has wisely drawn a veil over future events, affording us no light for prying into them but sagacity and experience.

These are a few of the numberless absurd opinions about the conduct of Providence, that have prevailed among Christians, and still prevail among some of them. Many opinions no less absurd have prevailed about speculative points. I confine myself to one or two instances; for to make a complete list would require a volume. The first I shall mention, and the most noted, is transubstantiation; which, tho' it has not the least influence on practice, is reckoned so essential to salvation, as to be placed above every moral duty. The following text is appealed to as the sole foundation of that article of faith. "And as they were eating, Jesus
 "took bread, and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to the disciples, and said, Take, eat; this is my body. And he took the
 "cup, and gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, Drink ye
 "all of it: for this is my blood of the new testament, which is
 "shed for many for the remission of sins. But I say unto you,
 "I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that
 "day when I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom."

“ dom (a).” That this is a metaphor, must strike every one: the passage cannot even bear a literal meaning, considering the final clause; for surely the most zealous Roman believes not, that Christians are to drink new wine with their Saviour in the kingdom of heaven. At the same time, it is not so much as insinuated, that there was here any miraculous transubstantiation of the bread and wine into the body and blood of our Saviour; nor is it insinuated, that the apostles believed they were eating the flesh of their master, and drinking his blood. St John, the favourite apostle, mentions not a word of this ceremony, which he certainly would not have omitted, had he imagined it an essential article of faith.

But supposing transubstantiation to be more clearly expressed in this text, than it really is; yet men of good understanding will be loth to admit a meaning that contradicts their five senses. They will reflect, that no man now living ever saw the original books of the New Testament; nor are they certain, that the editions we have, are copied directly from the originals. Every remove from them is liable to errors, which may justly create a suspicion of every text that contradicts reason and common sense. Add, that the bulk of Christians have not even a copy from the original to build their faith upon, but only a translation into another language.

And this leads to what chiefly determined me to select that instance. God and nature have bestowed upon us the faculty of reason, for distinguishing truth from falsehood. If by reasoning with candor and impartiality, we discover a proposition to be true or false, it is not in our power to remain indifferent: we must judge, and according to our judgement we must pronounce. If say more, to pronounce is a duty we owe to our Maker; for to

(a) St Matthew, xvi. 26. &c..

what purpose has he bestow'd reason upon us, but in order to direct our belief? At the same time, we may depend on it as an intuitive truth, that God will never impose any belief on us, contradictory not only to our reason, but to our senses.

The following objection however will perhaps relish more with people of plain understanding. Transubstantiation is a very extraordinary miracle, reiterated every day and in every corner of the earth, by priests not always remarkable either for piety or for morality. Now I demand an answer to the following plain question: To what good end or purpose is such a profusion of miracles subservient? I see none. But I discover a very bad one, if they have any influence; which is, that they accustom the Roman Catholics to more cruelty and barbarity, than even the grossest savages are ever guilty of: some of them indeed devour the flesh of their enemies; but none of them, the flesh of their friends, especially of their greatest friend. But to do justice to people of that religion, I am confident, that this supposed miracle has no influence whatever upon their manners: to me it appears impossible for any man seriously to believe, that the bread and wine used at the Lord's supper, is actually converted into the body and blood of our Saviour. The Romish church requires the belief of transubstantiation; and a zealous Catholic, out of pure obedience, thinks he believes it. Convince once a man that salvation depends on belief, and he will believe any thing; that is, he will imagine that he believes: *Credo quia impossibile est* *.

That

* A traveller describing the Virgin Mary's house at Loretto, has the following reflection. "When there are so many saints endued with such miraculous powers, so many relics, and so many impregnated wells, each of them able to cure the most dangerous diseases; one would wonder, that physicians could live there, or others die. But people die here as elsewhere; and even churchmen, who preach upon the miracles wrought by relics, grow sick and die like other men." It is

That our first reformers, who were prone to differ from the Romish faith, should adopt this doctrine, shows the supreme influence of superstition. The Lutherans had not even the excuse of inattention: after serious examination, they added one absurdity more; teaching, that the bread and wine are converted into the body and blood of our Saviour, and yet remain bread and wine as at first; which is termed by them *consubstantiation*. I am persuaded, that at this time not a single man of them harbours such a thought.

Many persons, proof against a serious argument, are sufficiently clear-sighted to discover falsehood when put in a ridiculous light. It requires, I am sensible, a very delicate hand to attack a grave subject with ridicule as a test of truth; and for that reason, I forbear to offer any thing of my own. But I will set before my readers some excerpts from a book of absolute authority with Roman Catholics. Tho' transubstantiation be there handled in the most serious manner, with all the ceremonies and punctilios that naturally flow from it, yet to my taste, nothing can be contrived to give it a more ridiculous appearance. The book is the Roman Missal, from which the following is a literal translation.

“ Mass may be deficient in the matter, in the form, in the mi-

one thing to believe, it is another thing to fancy that we believe. In the year 1666 a Jew named *Sabatai Levi* appeared at Smyrna, pretending to be the true Messiah, and was acknowledged to be such by many. The Grand Signior, for proof of his mission, insisted for a miracle; proposing that he should present himself as a mark to be shot at, and promising to believe that he was the Messiah, if he remained unwounded. Sabatai, declining the trial, turned Mahometan to save his life. But observe the blindness of superstition: tho' Sabatai was seen every day walking the streets of Constantinople in the Turkish habit, the Jews insisted that the true Sabatai was taken up into heaven, leaving only behind him his shadow; and probably they most piously fancied that they believed so.

“ nister,

“ nister, or in the action. First, in the matter. If the bread be
“ not of wheat, or if there be so great a mixture of other grain
“ that it cannot be called wheat-bread, or if any way corrupted,
“ it does not make a sacrament. If it be made with rose-water,
“ or any other distilled water, it is doubtful whether it make a
“ sacrament or not. Tho’ corruption have begun, or tho’ it be
“ leavened, it makes a sacrament, but the celebrator sins grievously.
“ ly.

“ If the celebrator, before consecration, observe that the host
“ is corrupted, or is not of wheat, he must take another host :
“ if after consecration, he must still take another and swallow it,
“ after which he must also swallow the first, or give it to another,
“ or preserve it in some place with reverence. But if he have
“ swallowed the first before observing its defects, he must nevertheless
“ swallow also the perfect host ; because the precept about
“ the perfection of the sacrament, is of greater weight than that
“ of taking it fasting. If the consecrated host disappear by an
“ accident, as by wind, by a miracle, or by some animal, another
“ must be consecrated.

“ If the wine be quite sour or putrid, or made of unripe grapes,
“ or be mixed with so much water as to spoil the wine, it is no
“ sacrament. If the wine have begun to sour or to be corrupted,
“ or be quite new, or not mixed with water, or mixed with rose-
“ water or other distilled water, it makes a sacrament, but the celebrator
“ sins grievously.

“ If the priest, before consecration, observe that the materials
“ are not proper, he must stop, if proper materials cannot be got ;
“ but after consecration, he must proceed, to avoid giving scandal.
“ If proper materials can be procured by waiting, he must
“ wait for them, that the sacrifice may not remain imperfect.

“ Second, in form. If any of the words of consecration be omitted,
“ or any of them be changed into words of a different
“ meaning,

“ meaning, it is no sacrament : if they be changed into words of
“ the same meaning, it makes a sacrament ; but the celebrator
“ sins grievously.

“ Third, in the minister. If he does not intend to make a sa-
“ crament, but to cheat ; if there be any part of the wine, or a-
“ ny wafer that he has not in his eye, and does not intend to
“ consecrate ; if he have before him eleven wafers, and intends
“ to consecrate only ten, not determining what ten he intends :
“ in these cases the consecration does not hold, because intention
“ is requisite. If he think there are ten only, and intends to
“ consecrate all before him, they are all consecrated ; therefore
“ priests ought always to have such intention. If the priest,
“ thinking he has but one wafer, shall, after the consecration,
“ find two sticking together, he must take them both. And he
“ must take off all the remains of the consecrated matter ; for
“ they all belong to the same sacrifice. If in consecrating, the
“ intention be not actual by wandering of mind, but virtual in
“ approaching the altar, it makes a sacrament : tho’ priests
“ should be careful to have intention both virtual and actual.

“ Beside intention, the priest may be deficient in disposition of
“ mind. If he be suspended, or degraded, or excommunicated,
“ or under mortal sin, he makes a sacrament, but sins grievous-
“ ly. He may be deficient also in disposition of body. If he
“ have not fasted from midnight, if he have tasted water, or any
“ other drink or meat, even in the way of medicine, he cannot
“ celebrate nor communicate. If he have taken meat or drink
“ before midnight, even tho’ he have not slept nor digested it,
“ he does not sin. But on account of the perturbation of mind,
“ which bars devotion, it is prudent to refrain.

“ If any remains of meat, sticking in the mouth, be swallow-
“ ed with the host, they do not prevent communicating, provi-
“ ded they be swallowed, not as meat, but as spittle. The same

“ is

“ is to be said, if in washing the mouth a drop of water be swallowed, provided it be against our will.

“ Fourth, in the action. If any requisite be wanting, it is no sacrament; for example, if it be celebrated out of holy ground, or upon an altar not consecrated, or not covered with three napkins; if there be no wax candles; if it be not celebrated between day-break and noon; if the celebrator have not said matins with lauds; if he omit any of the sacerdotal robes; if these robes and the napkins be not blessed by a bishop; if there be no clerk present to serve, or one who ought not to serve, a woman, for example; if there be no chalice, the cup of which is gold, or silver, or pewter; if the vestment be not of clean linen adorned with silk in the middle, and blessed by a bishop; if the priest celebrate with his head covered; if there be no missal present, tho’ he have it by heart.

“ If a gnat or spider fall into the cup after consecration, the priest must swallow it with the blood, if he can: otherwise, let him take it out, wash it with wine, burn it, and throw it with the washings into holy ground. If poison fall into the cup, the blood must be poured on tow or on a linen cloth, remain till it be dry, then be burnt, and the ashes be thrown upon holy ground. If the host be poisoned, it must be kept in a tabernacle till it be corrupted.

“ If the blood freeze in winter, put warm cloths about the cup: if that be not sufficient, put the cup in boiling water.

“ If any of Christ’s blood fall on the ground by negligence, it must be licked up with the tongue, and the place scraped: the scrapings must be burnt, and the ashes buried in holy ground.

“ If the priest vomit the eucharist, and the species appear entire, it must be licked up most reverently. If a nausea prevent that to be done, it must be kept till it be corrupted. If the species.

“ cles do not appear, let the vomit be burnt, and the ashes thrown
“ upon holy ground.”

As the foregoing article has beyond intention swelled to an enormous size, I shall add but one other article, which, at the same time, shall be extremely short; and that is the creed of Athanasius. It is a heap of unintelligible jargon; and yet we are appointed to believe every article of it, under the pain of eternal damnation. As it enjoins belief of rank contradictions, it seems purposely calculated to be a test of slavish submission to the tyrannical authority of a proud and arrogant priest*.

C H A P. III.

RELIGIOUS WORSHIP.

IN the foregoing chapter are traced the gradual advances of the sense of Deity, from its imperfect state among savages to its maturity among enlightened nations, displaying to us one great being to whom all other beings owe their existence, who made the world, and who governs it by the most perfect laws. And our perception of Deity, arising from that sense, is fortified by an intuitive proposition, that there necessarily must exist some being who had no beginning. Considering the Deity as the author of our existence, we owe him gratitude; considering him as govern-

* Bishop Burnet seems doubtful whether this creed was composed by Athanasius; tho' his doubts, in my apprehension, are scarce sufficient to weigh against the unanimous opinion of the Christian church.

or of the world, we owe him obedience : and upon these duties is founded the obligation we are under to worship him. Further, God made man for society, and implanted in his nature the moral sense to direct his conduct in that state. From these premises, may it not with certainty be inferred to be the will of God, that men should obey the dictates of the moral sense in fulfilling every duty of justice and benevolence ? These moral duties, it would appear, are our chief business in this life ; being enforced not only by a moral but by a religious principle.

Morality, as laid down in a former sketch, consists of two great branches, viz. the moral sense, which unfolds our duty to man, and an active moral principle, which prompts us to perform that duty. Natural religion consists also of two great branches, viz. the sense of Deity, which unfolds our duty to our Maker, and the active principle of devotion, which prompts us to perform our duty to him. The universality of the sense of Deity proves it to be innate : the same reason proves the principle of devotion to be innate ; for all men agree in worshipping superior beings, whatever difference there may be in the mode of worship.

Both branches of the duty we owe to God, that of worshipping him, and that of obeying his will with respect to our fellow-creatures, are summed up by the Prophet Micah in the following emphatic words. “ He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good : “ and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, to love “ mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God ? ” The two articles first mentioned, are moral duties regarding our fellow-creatures ; and as to such, what is required of us by the Lord is to do our duty to others, not only as directed by the moral sense, but as being the will of our Maker, to whom we owe absolute obedience. That branch of our duty is reserved for a second section : at present we are to treat of religious worship, included in the third article, viz. the walking humbly with our God.

S E C T. I.

Religious Worship.

THE obligation we are under to worship God, or to walk humbly with him, is, as observed above, founded on the two great principles of gratitude and obedience; both of them requiring fundamentally a pure heart, and a well-disposed mind. But heart-worship is alone not sufficient: there are over and above required external signs, testifying to others the sense we have of these duties, and a firm resolution to perform them. That such is the will of God, will appear as follows. The principle of devotion, like most of our other principles, partakes of the imperfection of our nature: yet however faint originally, it is capable of being greatly invigorated by cultivation and exercise. Private exercise is not sufficient. Nature, and consequently the God of nature, require public exercise or public worship: for devotion is infectious, like joy or grief (*a*); and by mutual communication in a numerous assembly, is greatly invigorated. A regular habit of expressing publicly our gratitude and resignation, never fails to purify the mind, tending to wean it from every unlawful pursuit. This is the true motive of public worship; not what is commonly inculcated, viz. That it is required from us, as a testimony to our Maker of our obedience to his laws: God, who knows the heart, needs no such testimony *. I shall only add upon the general head,

(*a*) Elements of Criticism, vol. 1. p. 180. edit. 5.

* Arnobius (*Adversus gentes*, lib. 1.) accounts rationally for the worship we pay to the Deity: "Huic omnes ex more prosternimur, hunc collatis precibus adoramus,"

head, that lawgivers ought to avoid with caution the enforcing public worship by rewards and punishments: human laws cannot reach the heart, in which the essence of worship consists: they may indeed bring on a listless habit of worship, by separating the external act from the internal affection, than which there can be nothing more hurtful to true religion. The utmost that can be safely ventured, is to bring public worship under censorian powers, as a matter of police, for preserving good order, and for preventing bad example.

The religion of Confucius, professed by the *literati* and persons of rank in China and Tonquin, consists in a deep inward veneration for the God or King of heaven, and in the practice of every moral virtue. They have neither temples, nor priests, nor any settled form of external worship: every one adores the supreme Being in the manner he himself thinks best. This is indeed the most refined system of religion that ever took place among men. There is however an invincible objection against it, which is, that it is not fitted for the human race: an excellent religion it would

“ mus, ab hoc iusta, et honesta, et auditu ejus condigna, deprecemur. Non quo
 “ ipse desideret supplices nos esse, aut amet subterni tot millium venerationem vide-
 “ re. Utilitas hæc nostra est, et commodi nostri rationem spectans. Nam quia
 “ proni ad culpas, et ad libidinis varios appetitus, vitiis sumus infirmitatis ingentibus,
 “ patitur se semper nostris cogitationibus concipi: ut dum illum oramus, et mere-
 “ ri ejus contendimus munera, accipiamus innocentiae voluntatem, et ab omni nos
 “ labe delictorum omnium amputatione purgemus.”— [*In English thus*: “ It is
 “ our custom to prostrate ourselves before him; and we ask of him such gifts only
 “ as are consistent with justice and with honour, and suitable to the character of the
 “ Being whom we adore. Not that he receives pleasure or satisfaction from the
 “ humble veneration of thousands of his creatures. From this we ourselves derive
 “ benefit and advantage; for being the slaves of appetite, and prone to err from
 “ the weakness of our nature, when we address ourselves to God in prayer, and
 “ study by our actions to merit his approbation, we gain at least the wish, and the
 “ inclination, to be virtuous.”]

be for angels ; but is far too refined, even for sages and philosophers.

Proceeding to deviations from the genuine worship required by our Maker, and gross deviations there have been, I begin with that sort of worship which is influenced by fear, and which for that reason is universal among savages. The American savages believe, that there are inferior deities without end, most of them prone to mischief : they neglect the supreme Deity because he is good ; and direct their worship to soothe the malevolent inferior deities from doing harm. The inhabitants of the Molucca islands, who believe the existence of malevolent invisible beings subordinate to the supreme benevolent Being, confine their worship to the former, in order to avert their wrath ; and one branch of their worship is, to set meat before them, hoping that when the belly is full, there will be less inclination to mischief. The worship of the inhabitants of Java is much the same. The negroes of Benin worship the devil, as Dapper expresses it, and sacrifice to him both men and beasts. They acknowledge indeed a supreme Being, who created the universe, and governs it by his Providence : but they regard him not ; “ for,” say they, “ it is needless, if not impertinent, to invoke a being, who, good and gracious, is incapable of injuring or molesting us.”

The austerities and penances that are practised in almost all religions, spring from the same root. One way to please invisible malignant powers, is to make ourselves as miserable as possible. Hence the horrid penances of the Faquirs in Hindostan, who outdo in mortification whatever is reported of the ancient Christian anchorites. Some of these Faquirs continue for life in one posture : some never lie down : some have always their arms raised above their head : and some mangle their bodies with knives and scourges. The town of Jagrenate in Hindostan is frequented by pilgrims, some of them from the distance of 300 leagues, which
they

they travel, not by walking or riding, but by measuring the road with the length of their bodies ; in which method of loco-motion, some of them consume years, before they complete their pilgrimage. A religious sect made its way some centuries ago into Japan, termed *Buddoists*, from *Budds*, the founder. This sect has prevailed over the ancient sect of the Sintos, chiefly by its austerity and mortifications. The spirit of this sect inspires nothing but excessive fear of the gods, who are painted prone to vengeance, and always offended. The people of that religion pass most of their time in tormenting themselves, to expiate imaginary faults ; and they are treated by their priests with despotism and cruelty, that is not paralleled but by the inquisitors of Spain. The manners of the people are fierce, cruel, and unrelenting, such as never fail to be inspired by horrible superstition. The notion of invisible malevolent powers, formerly universal, is not to this hour eradicated, even among Christians ; for which I appeal to the fastings and flagellations among Roman-Catholics, held by them to be an essential part of religion. People infected with religious horrors, are never seriously convinced, that an upright heart and sound morality make the essence of religion. The doctrine of the Jansenists, concerning repentance and mortification, shows evidently, however they may deceive themselves, that they have an impression of the Deity as a malevolent being. They hold the guilt contracted by Adam's fall to be a heinous sin, which ought to be expiated by acts of mortification, such as the torturing and macerating the body with painful labour, excessive abstinence, continual prayer and contemplation. Their penances, whether for original or voluntary sin, are carried to extravagance ; and they who put an end to their lives by such severities, are termed the sacred victims of repentance, consumed by the fire of divine love. Such suicides are esteemed peculiarly meritorious in the eye of Heaven ; and it is thought, that their sufferings cannot fail to appease the
anger

anger of the Deity. That celibacy is a state of purity and perfection, is a prevailing notion in many countries : among the Pagans, a married man was forbid to approach the altar, for some days after knowing his wife ; and this ridiculous notion of pollution, contributed to introduce celibacy among the Roman-Catholic priests. The Emperor Otho, *anno* 1218, became a signal penitent : but instead of atoning for his sins by repentance and restitution, he laid himself down to be trod under foot by the boys of his kitchen ; and frequently submitted to the discipline of the whip, inflicted by monks. The Emperor Charles V. toward the end of his days, was sorely depressed in spirit with fear of hell. Monks were his only companions, with whom he spent his time in chanting hymns. As an expiation for his sins, he in private disciplined himself with such severity, that his whip, found after his death, was tinged with his blood. Nor was he satisfied with these acts of mortification : timorous and illiberal solicitude still haunting him, he aimed at something extraordinary, at some new and singular act of piety, to display his zeal, and to merit the favour of Heaven. The act he fixed on was as wild as any that superstition ever suggested to a disordered brain : it was to celebrate his own obsequies. He ordered his tomb to be erected in the chapel of the monastery : his domestics marched there in funeral procession, holding black tapers : he followed in his shroud : he was laid in his coffin with much solemnity : the service of the dead was chanted ; and he himself joined in the prayers offered up for his *requiem*, mingling his tears with those of his attendants. The ceremony closed with sprinkling holy water upon the coffin ; and the assistants retiring, the doors of the chapel were shut. Then Charles rose out of the coffin, and stole privately to his apartment.

The history of ancient sacrifices is not so accurate, as in every instance to ascertain upon what principle they were founded, whether

ther upon fear, upon gratitude for favours received, or to solicit future favour. Human sacrifices undoubtedly belong to the present head: for being calculated to deprecate the wrath of a malevolent deity, they could have no other motive but fear; and indeed they are a most direful effect of that passion. It is needless to lose time in mentioning instances, which are well known to those who are acquainted with ancient history. A number of them are collected in Historical Law-tracts (a): and to these I take the liberty of adding, that the Cimbrians, the Germans, the Gauls, particularly the Druids, practised human sacrifices; for which we have the authority of Julius Cæsar, Strabo, and other authors. A people upon the Mississippi, named *Tensas*, worship the sun, and, like the Natches their neighbours, have a temple for that luminary, with a sacred fire in it, continually burning. The temple having been set on fire by thunder, was all in flames, when some French travellers saw them throw children into the fire, one after another, to appease the incensed deity. The Prophet Micah (b), in a passage partly quoted above, inveighs bitterly against such sacrifices: "Wherewith shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before the high God? shall I come before him with burnt-offerings, with calves of a year old? will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil? shall I give my first-born for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul? He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good: and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?"

The ancient Persians acknowledged Oromazes and Arimanes as their great deities, authors of good and ill to men. But I find

(a) Tract 1.

(b) Chap. 6.

not that Arimanes, the evil principle, was ever an object of any religious worship. The Gaures, who profess the ancient religion of Persia, address no worship but to one God, all-good and all-powerful.

Next, of worshipping the Deity in the character of a mercenary being. Under that head come sacrifices and oblations, whether prompted by gratitude for favours received, or by self-interest to procure future favours; which, for the reason mentioned, I shall not attempt to distinguish. As the deities of early times were thought to resemble men, it is not wonderful, that men endeavoured to conciliate their favour, with such offerings as were the most acceptable to themselves. It is probable, that the first sacrifices of that kind were of sweet-smelling herbs, which in the fire emitted a flavour, that might reach the nostrils of a deity, even at a distance. The burning incense to their gods, was practised in Mexico and Peru; and at present is practised in the peninsula of Corea. An opportunity so favourable for making religious zeal a fund of riches to the priesthood, is seldom neglected. There was no difficulty to persuade ignorant people, that the gods could eat as well as smell: what was offered to a deity for food, being carried into the temple, was understood to be devoured by him.

With respect to the Jewish sacrifices of burnt-offerings, meat-offerings, sin-offerings, peace-offerings, heave-offerings, and wave-offerings, these were appointed by God himself, in order to keep that stiff-necked people in daily remembrance of their dependence on him, and to preserve them if possible from idolatry. But that untractable race did not adhere to the purity of the institution: they insensibly degenerated into the notion that their God was a mercenary being; and in that character only, was the worship of sacrifices performed to him: the offerings mentioned were liberally bestowed on him, not singly as a token of their dependence,

fin by austere penances ; but they have no notion of presenting gifts to the Deity, nor of deprecating his wrath with the blood of animals. On the contrary, they reckon it a sin to slay any living creature ; which reduces them to vegetable food. This is going too far ; for the Deity could never mean to prohibit animal food, when man's chief dependence originally was upon it. The abstaining, however, from animal food, shows greater humanity in the religion of Hindostan, than of any other known country. The inhabitants of Madagascar are in a stage of religion, common among many nations, which is, the acknowledging one supreme benevolent deity, and many malevolent inferior deities. Most of their worship is indeed addressed to the latter ; but they have so far advanced before several other nations, as to offer sacrifices to the supreme Being, without employing either idols or temples.

Philosophy and sound sense, in polished nations, have purified religious worship, by banishing the profession at least of oblations and sacrifices. The Being that made the world, governs it by laws that are inflexible, because they are the best possible ; and to imagine that he can be moved by prayers, oblations, or sacrifices, to vary his plan of government, is an impious thought, degrading the Deity to a level with ourselves : “ Hear, O my people, and I “ will testify against thee ; I am God, even thy God. I will take “ no bullock out of thy house, nor he-goat out of thy fold : for “ every beast of the forest is mine, and the cattle upon a thousand “ hills. Will I eat the flesh of bulls, or drink the blood of goats ? “ Offer unto God thanksgiving, and pay thy vows to the Most “ High. Call upon me in the day of trouble : I will deliver thee, “ and thou shalt glorify me (a).” “ Thou desirest not sacrifice, “ else would I give it ; thou delightest not in burnt-offering.

(a) Psalm 50.

“ The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit : a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise (a).” “ For I desired mercy, and not sacrifice ; and the knowledge of God, more than burnt-offerings (b).” In dark ages, there is great shew of religion, with little heart-worship : in ages of philosophy, warm heart-worship, with little shew *.

This is a proper place for the history of idolatry ; which, as will anon appear, sprung from religious worship, corrupted by

* Agathias urges a different reason against sacrifices. “ Ego nullam naturam esse existimo, cui voluptati sint foedata sanguine altaria, et animantium lanienæ. Quod si qua tamen est cui ista sint cordi, non ea mitis et benigna est aliqua, sed fera ac rabida, qualem pavorem poetæ fingunt, et Metum, et Bellonam, et Malam Fortunam, et Discordiam, quam indomitam appellant.” — [*In English thus* : “ I cannot conceive, that there should exist a superior being, who takes delight in the sacrifice of animals, or in altars stained with blood. If such there be, his nature is not benevolent, but barbarous and cruel. Such indeed were the gods whom the poets have created: such were Fear and Terror, the goddesses of War, of Evil Fortune, and of Discord.”] — Arnobius batters down bloody sacrifices with a very curious argument. “ Ecce si bos aliquis, aut quodlibet ex his animal, quod ad placandas cæditur mitigandasque ad numinum furias, vocem hominis sumat, eloquaturque his verbis: Ergone, O Jupiter, aut quis alius deus es, humanum est istud et rectum, aut æquitatis alicujus in æstimatione ponendum, ut cum alius peccaverit, ego occidar, et de meo sanguine fieri tibi patiaris satis, qui nunquam te læserim, nunquam sciens aut nesciens, tuum numen majestatemque violarim, animal, ut scis, mutum, naturæ meæ simplicitatem sequens, nec multiformium morum varietatibus lubricum ?” — [*In English thus* : “ What if the ox, while he is led out to slaughter to appease the fancied wrath of an offended deity, should assume the human voice, and in these words astonish his conductors: Are these, O merciful God, are these the dictates of humanity, or of justice, that for the crime of another I should forfeit my life. I have never by my will offended thee, and, dumb as I am, and uninformed by reason, my actions, according to the simplicity of my nature, cannot have given thee displeasure, who hast made me as I am.”] — If this argument were solid, it would be equally conclusive against animal food.

(a) Psalm 51.

(b) Hosea vi. 6.

men of shallow understanding and gross conceptions, upon whom things invisible make little impression.

Savages, even of the lowest class, have an impression of invisible powers, tho' they cannot form any distinct notion of them. But such impression is too faint for the exercise of devotion. Whether inspired with love to a good being, or with fear of an ill being, savages are not at ease without some sort of visible object to animate them. A great stone served that purpose originally; a very low instrument indeed of religious worship; but not altogether whimsical, if it was introduced, which is highly probable, in the following manner. It was an early and a natural custom among savages, to mark with a great stone, the place where their worthies were interred; of which we have hints every where in ancient history, particularly in the poems of Ossian. "Place me," says Calmar, mortally wounded, "at the side of a stone of remembrance, that future times may hear my fame, and the mother of Calmar rejoice over the stone of my renown." Superstition in later times having deified these worthies, their votaries, rejoicing as formerly over the stones dedicated to them, held these stones to be essential in every act of religious worship performed to their new deities*.

* Frequent mention is made of such stones in the poems of Ossian. "But remember, my son, to place this sword, this bow, and this horn, within that dark and narrow house marked with one gray stone." p. 55. "Whose fame is in that dark-green tomb? Four stones with their heads of moss stand there, and mark the narrow house of death." p. 67. "Let thy bards mourn those who fell. Let Erin give the sons of Lochlin to earth, and raise the mossy stones of their fame; that the children of the north hereafter may behold the place where their fathers fought." p. 78. "Earth here incloses the loveliest pair on the hill: grass grows between the stones of the tomb." p. 208. In the same poems we find stones made instruments of worship. The spirit of Loda is introduced threatening Fingal: "Fly to thy land, replied the form: receive the wind and fly. The blasts are in the hollow of my hand: the course of the storm is mine. The King of Sora is my son: he bends at the stone of my power." p. 200.

Tradition points out many stones in different parts of the world, that were used in religious worship. A large stone worshipped by the Pessennuntians, a people of Phrygia, under the name of *Idea mater*, was, upon a solemn embassy to that people, brought to Rome; it being contained in the Sybilline books, that unless the Romans got possession of that goddess, they never would prevail over Hannibal. And Pausanias mentions many stones in Greece, dedicated to different divinities; particularly thirty square stones in Achaia, on which were engraved the names of as many gods. In another place, he mentions a very ancient statue of Venus in the island Delos, which, instead of feet, had only a square stone. This may appear a puzzling circumstance in the history of Greece, considering that all the Grecian gods were originally mortals, whom it was easy to represent by statues: but in that early period, the Greeks knew no more of statuary than the most barbarous nations. It is perhaps not easy to gather the meaning of savages, with respect to such stones: the most natural conjecture is, that a great stone, dedicated to the worship of a certain deity, was considered as belonging to him. This notion of property had a double effect: the worshippers, by connection of ideas, were led from the stone to the deity: and the stone tended to fix their wandering thoughts. It was probably imagined, over and above, that some latent virtue communicated to the stone, made it holy or sacred. Even among enlightened people, a sort of virtue or sanctity is conceived to reside in the place of worship: why not also in a stone dedicated to a deity? The ancient Ethiopians, in their worship, introduced the figure of a serpent as a symbol of the deity: two sticks laid cross represented Castor and Pollux, Roman divinities: a javelin represented their god Mars; and in Tartary, formerly, the god of war was worshipped under the symbol of an old rusty sabre. The ancient Persians used consecrated fire, as an emblem of the great God. Tho' the negroes of Congo
and

and Angola have images without number, they are not however idolaters in any proper sense: their belief is, that these images are only organs by which the deities signify their will to their votaries.

If the use that was made of stones and of other symbols in religious worship, be fairly represented, it may appear strange, that the ingenious Greeks sunk down into idolatry, at the very time they were making a rapid progress in the fine arts. Their improvements in statuary, one of these arts, was the cause. They began with attempting to carve heads of men and women, representing their deified heroes; which were placed upon the stones dedicated to these divinities. In the progress of the art, statues were executed complete in every member; and at last, statues of the gods were made, expressing such dignity and majesty, as insensibly to draw from beholders a degree of devotion to the statues themselves. Hear Quintilian upon that subject. "At quæ Polycleto defuerunt, Phidiæ atque Alcameni dantur. Phidias tamēn diis quam hominibus efficiendis melior artifex traditur: in ebore vero, longe citra æmulum, vel si nihil nisi Minervam Athenis aut Olympium in Elide Jovem fecisset, cujus pulchritudo adjecisse aliquid etiam receptæ religioni videtur; adeo majestas operis deum æquavit *." Here is laid a foundation for idolatry: let us trace its progress. Such statues as are represented by Quintilian, serve greatly to enflame devotion; and during a warm fit of the religious passion, the representation is lost,

* "The deficiencies of Polycletus were made up in Phidias and Alcamenes. Phidias is reckoned to have had more skill in forming the statues of gods than of men. In works of ivory he was unrivalled, altho' there had been no other proofs of his excellence than the statue of Minerva at Athens, and the Jupiter Olympius in Elis. Its beauty seems to have added to the received religion; the majestic statue resembling so much the god himself."

and

and the statue becomes a deity ; precisely as where King Lear is represented by Garrick : the actor vanishes ; and, behold ! the King himself. This is not singular. Anger occasions a metamorphosis still more extraordinary : if I happen to strike my gouty toe against a stone, the violence of the pain converts the stone for a moment into a voluntary agent ; and I wreak my resentment on it, as if it really were so. It is true, the image is only conceived to be a deity during the fervour of devotion ; and when that subsides, the image falls back to its original representative state. But frequent instances of that kind, have at last the effect among illiterate people, to convert the image into a sort of permanent deity : what such people see, makes a deep impression ; what they see not, little or none at all. There is another thing that concurs with eye-sight, to promote this delusion : devotion, being a vigorous principle in the human breast, will exert itself upon the meanest object, when none more noble is in view.

The ancient Persians held the consecrated fire to be an emblem only of the great God : but such veneration was paid to that emblem, and with so great ceremony was it treated, that the vulgar came at last to worship it as a sort of deity. The priests of the Gaures watch the consecrated fire day and night : they keep it alive with the purest wood, without bark : they touch it not with sword nor knife : they blow it not with bellows, nor with the mouth : even the priest is prohibited to approach it, till his mouth be covered with fine linen, lest it be polluted with his breath : if it happen to go out, it must be rekindled by striking fire from flint, or by a burning glass.

The progress of idolatry will more clearly appear, from attending to the religion of the Greeks and Romans. The Greeks, as mentioned above, made use of stones in divine worship, long before idolatry was introduced : and we learn from Varro, that for a hundred and seventy years after Numa, the Romans had no sta-

tues

tues nor images in their temples. After statues of the gods came in fashion, they acquired by degrees more and more respect. The Greek and Roman writers, talk of divine virtue being communicated to statues ; and some of the Roman writers talk familiarly, of the *numen* of a deity residing in his statue. Arnobius, in his book against the Gentiles, introduces a Gentile delivering the following opinion. “ We do not believe, that the metal which com-
 “ poses a statue, whether gold, or silver, or brass, is a god. But
 “ we believe, that a solemn dedication brings down the god to
 “ inhabit his image ; and it is the god only that we worship in
 “ that image.” This explains the Roman ceremony, of inviting to their side the tutelar deities of towns besieged by them, termed *evocatio tutelarium deorum* : the Romans, cruel as they were, overflowed with superstition ; and as they were averse from combating the tutelar deities even of their enemies, they endeavoured to gain these deities by large promises, and assurance of honourable treatment. As they could not hope that a statue would change its place, their notion must have been, that by this ceremony, the tutelar deity might be prevailed upon to withdraw its *numen*, and leave the statue a dead lump of matter. When Stilpo was banished by the Areopagus of Athens for affirming, that the statue in the temple of Minerva was not the goddess, but a piece of matter carved by Phidias ; he surely was not condemned for saying, that the statue was made by Phidias, a fact universally known : his heresy consisted in denying that the *numen* of Minerva resided in the statue. Augustus, having twice lost his fleet by storm, forbade Neptune to be carried in procession along with the other gods ; imagining he had avenged himself of Neptune, by neglecting the favourite statue in which his *numen* resided.

When saints in the Christian church were deified, even their images became objects of worship ; from a fond imagination, that such worship draws down into the images, the souls of the saints
 they

they represent: which is the same doctrine that Arnobius, in the passage above mentioned, ascribes to the Gentiles; and is not widely different from the belief of the Pagan Tartars and Ostiaks, by and by to be mentioned. In the eleventh century, there was a violent dispute about images in the Greek church; many asserting, that in the images of our Saviour and of the saints, there resides an inherent sanctity, which is a proper object of worship; and that Christians ought not to confine their worship to the persons represented, but ought also to extend it to their images.

As ignorant and savage nations can form no conception of Deity, but of a being like a man, only superior in power and greatness, images are made of the Deity in several nations conformable to this conception. It is easy to make some resemblance of a man; but how is power and greatness to be represented? To perform this with propriety, would require a Hogarth. Savages go more bluntly to work: they endeavour to represent a man with many heads, and with a still greater number of hands. The northern Tartars seem to have no deities but certain statues or images coarsely formed out of wood, and bearing some distant resemblance to the human figure. To palliate so gross an absurdity, as that a god can be fabricated by the hands of man, they imagine this image to be endued with a soul: to say whence that soul came, would puzzle the wisest of them. That soul is conceived to be too elevated for dwelling constantly in a piece of matter: they believe that it resides in some more honourable place; and that it only visits the image or idol, when it is called down by prayers and supplications. They sacrifice to this idol, by rubbing its mouth with the fat of fish, and by offering it the warm blood of some beast killed in hunting. The last step of the ceremony is, to honour the soul of the idol with a joyful shout, as a sort of convoy to it when it returns home. The Ostiaks have a wooden idol, termed, *The Old Man of Oby*, who is guardian of

their fishery : it hath eyes of glass, and a head with short horns. When the ice dissolves, they crowd to this idol, requesting that he will be propitious to their fishery. If unsuccessful, he is loaded with reproaches : if successful, he is entitled to a share of the capture. They make a feast for him, rubbing his snout with choice fat ; and, when the entertainment is over, they accompany the soul of the idol a little way, beating the air with their cudgels. The Ostiaks have another idol, that is fed with milk so abundantly, as to come out on both sides of the spoon, and to fall down upon the vesture ; which, however, is never washed, so little is cleanliness thought essential to religion by that people. It is indeed wonderfully absurd, to think, that invisible souls require food like human creatures ; and yet the same absurdity prevailed in Greece.

The ancient Germans, a sober and sensible people, had no notion of representing their gods by statues, nor of building temples to them. They worshipped in consecrated groves (*a*). The Egyptians, from a just conception that an invisible being can have no resemblance to one that is visible, employ'd hieroglyphical figures for denoting metaphorically the attributes of their gods ; and they employ'd, not only the figures of birds and beasts, but of vegetables ; leeks, for example, and onions. This metaphorical adjunct to religion, innocent in itself, sunk the Egyptians to the lowest degree of idolatry. As hieroglyphical figures, composed frequently of heterogeneous parts, resemble not any being human or divine ; the vulgar, losing sight of the emblematic signification, which is not readily understood but by poets and philosophers, took up with the plain figures as real divinities. How otherwise can it be accounted for, that the ox, the ape, the onion, were in Egypt worshipped as deities ? But this must be under-

(*a*) Tacitus de moribus Germanorum, cap. 9.

flood of the vulgar only. It is scarce fupposable, that the better fort of people could think fo grofsly ; and we have the authority of Plutarch for doubting. In his chapter upon Ifis and Ofiris, he obferves, that the Egyptians worfhipped the bull, the cat, and other animals ; not as divinities, but as representatives of them, like an image feen in a glafs ; or, as he expreffes it in another part of the fame chapter, “ juft as we fee the refemblance of the fun “ in a drop of water.” However this be, the Egyptian worfhip is an illuftrious inftance of the influence of devotion : how powerful muft it be in its purity, when even in a wrong direction, it can force its way againft every obftacle of common fenfe ! And fuch refpect was paid to thefe animals, if we can trust Diodorus Siculus, that in a great famine, the Egyptians ventured not to touch the facred animals, tho’ they were forc’d to devour one another. The veneration paid to a cow in Hindoftan arofe probably from the fame caufe, viz. its having been ufed as a fymbol of the Deity. A fnake of a particular kind, about a yard long, and about the thicknefs of a man’s arm, is worfhipped by the Whidans in Guinea. It has a large round head, piercing eyes, a fhort pointed tongue, and a fmooth fkin, beautifully fpeckled. It has a ftrong antipathy to all the venomous kind ; in other refpects, innocent and tame. To kill them being a capital crime, they travel about unmolefted, even into bedchambers. They occafioned, ann. 1697, a ridiculous perfecution. A hog, teafed by one of them, gnafhed it with his tusks till it died. The priefts carried their complaint to the king ; and no one prefuming to appear as counfel for the hogs, orders were iffued for flaughtering the whole race. At once were brandifhed a thoufand cutlaffes ; and the race would have been extirpated, had not the king interpoled, reprefenting to the priefts, that they ought to reft fatisfied with the innocent blood they had fpilt. Rancour and cruelty never rage more violently, than under the mask of religion.

It is amazing how prone the most polished nations formerly were to idolatry. The Tyrians, besieged by Alexander, chained down Hercules, their tutelar deity, to prevent him from deserting to the enemy; which is said to have been also practised in Sparta. The city of Ambracia being taken by the Romans, and every statue of their gods being carried to Rome; the Ambracians complained bitterly, that not a single divinity was left them to worship. How much more rational are the Hindostan bramins, who teach their disciples, that idols are emblems only of the Deity, intended merely to fix the attention of the populace!

The first statues in Greece and Tuscany, were made with wings, to signify the swift motion of the gods. These statues were so clumsy, as scarce to resemble human creatures, not to talk of a divinity. But the admirable statues executed in later times, were imagined to resemble most accurately the deities represented by them: whence the vulgar notion, that gods have wings, and that angels have wings.

I proceed to what in the history of idolatry may be reckoned the second part. Statues, we have seen, were at first used as representatives only of the Deity; but came afterward to be metamorphosed into divinities. The absurdity did not stop there. People, not satisfied with the visible deities erected in temples for public worship, became fond to have private deities of their own, whom they worshipped as their tutelar deities; and this practice spread so wide, as that among many nations every family had household gods cut in wood or stone. Every family in Kamskatka has a tutelar deity in the shape of a pillar, with the head of a man, which is supposed to guard the house against malevolent spirits. They give it food daily, and anoint the head with the fat of fish. The Prophet Isaiah (a) puts this species of deification in a most ridi-

(a) Chap. 44.

culous light: "He burneth part thereof in the fire: with part thereof he roasteth flesh: of the residue he maketh a god, even his graven image: he falleth down, worshipping, and praying to it, and saith, Deliver me, for thou art my god." Multiplication could not fail to sink household-gods into a degree of contempt: expectation of good from them, might produce some cold ceremonial worship; but there could be no real devotion at heart. The Chinese manner of treating their household-gods, will vouch for me. When a Chinese does not obtain what he prays for, "Thou spiritual-dog," he will say, "I lodge thee well, thou art beautifully gilded, treated with perfumes and burnt-offerings; and yet thou with-holdest from me the necessaries of life." Sometimes they fasten a cord to the idol, and drag it through the dirt. The inhabitants of Ceylon treat their idols in the same manner. Thor, Woden, and Friga, were the great deities of the Scandinavians. They had at the same time inferior deities, who were supposed to have been men translated into heaven for their good works. These they treated with very little ceremony, refusing to worship them if they were not propitious; and even punishing them with banishment; but restoring them after a time, in hopes of amendment. Domestic idols are treated by the Ostiaks not more reverently than by the people mentioned. But they have public idols, some particularly of brass, which are highly revered: the solidity of the metal is in their imagination connected with immortality; and great regard is paid to these idols, for the knowledge and experience they must have acquired in an endless course of time.

Saints, or tutelar deities, are sometimes not better treated among Roman Catholics, than among Pagans. "When we were in Portugal," says Captain Brydone, "the people of Castelbranco were so enraged at St Antonio, for suffering the Spaniards to plunder their town, contrary, as they affirmed, to his express agree-
ment:

“ ment with them, that they broke many of his statues to pieces;
 “ and one that had been more revered than the rest, they took
 “ the head off, and in its stead placed one of St Francis. The
 “ great St Januarius himself was in imminent danger, during the
 “ last famine at Naples. They loaded him with abuse and invec-
 “ tive; and declared point-blank, that if he did not procure them
 “ corn by such a time, he should be no longer their saint.” The
 tutelar saint of Cattania, at the foot of Mount Etna, is St Agatha.
 A torrent of lava burst over the walls, and laid waste great part
 of that beautiful city. Where was St Agatha at this time? The
 people say, that they had given her just provocation; but that
 she has long ago been reconciled to them, and has promised ne-
 ver to suffer the lava to hurt them again. At the foot of Mount
 Etna, a statue of a saint is placed as a memorial, for having pre-
 vented the lava from running up the mountain of Taurominum,
 and destroying that town; the saint having conducted the lava
 down a low valley to the sea.

When a traveller once happens to deviate from the right road,
 there is no end of wandering. Porphyrius reports, that in Anu-
 bis, an Egyptian city, a real man was worshipped as a god; which
 is also asserted by Minucius Felix, in his apology for the Chri-
 stians. A thousand writers have said, that the Tartars believe their
 high-priest, termed *Dalai-Lama*, to be immortal. But that is a
 mistake: his death is published through the whole country; and
 couriers, sent even to Peking, intimate it to the Emperor of China:
 his effigy, at the same time, is taken down from the portal of the
 great church, and that of his successor is put in its stead. The
 system of the metempsychosis, adopted in that country, has occa-
 sion'd the mistake. They believe, that the holy spirit, which ani-
 mates a Dalai Lama, passes upon his death into the body of his suc-
 cessor. The spirit therefore is believed to be immortal, not the body.
 The Dalai Lama, however, is the object of profound veneration.

The

The Tartar princes are daily sending presents to him, and consulting him as an oracle: they even undertake a pilgrimage in order to worship him in person. In a retired part of the temple, he is shown covered with precious stones, and sitting cross-legged. They prostrate themselves before him at a distance, for they are not permitted to kiss his toe. The priests make traffic even of his excrements, which are greedily purchased at a high price, and are kept in a golden box hanging from the neck, as a charm against every misfortune. Like the cross of Jesus, or the Virgin's milk, we may believe, there never will be wanting plenty of that precious stuff to answer all demands: the priests out of charity will furnish a quota, rather than suffer votaries to depart with their money for want of goods to purchase. The person of the Japan Pope, or Ecclesiastical Emperor, is held so sacred, as to make the cutting his beard, or his nails, a deadly sin. But absurd laws are never steadily executed. The beard and the nails are cut in the night-time, when the Pope is supposed to be sleeping; and what is taken away by that operation, is understood to be stolen from him, which is no impeachment upon his Holiness.

That the Jews were idolaters when they sojourned in the land of Goshen, were it not presumable from their commerce with the Egyptians, would however be evident from the history of Moses. Notwithstanding their miraculous deliverance from the Egyptian king, notwithstanding the daily miracles wrought among them in the wilderness; so addicted were they to a visible deity, that, during even the momentary absence of Moses conversing with God on the mount, they fabricated a golden calf, and worshipped it as their god. "And the Lord said unto Moses, Go, get thee
"down: for thy people which thou broughtest out of the land
"of Egypt, have corrupted themselves: they have turned aside
"quickly out of the way which I commanded them: they have
"made them a molten calf, have worshipped it, have sacrificed
"thereunto,

“thereunto, and said, These be thy gods, O Israel, which have brought thee up out of the land of Egypt (a).” The history of the Jews, shows how difficult it is to reclaim from idolatry a brutish people, addicted to superstition, and fettered by inveterate habit. What profusion of blood, to bring that obstinate and perverse people to the true religion! all in vain. The book of Judges, in particular, is full of reiterated relapses, from their own invisible God, to the visible gods of other nations. And in all probability, their anxious desire for a visible king, related in the first book of Samuel, arose from their being deprived of a visible god. There was a necessity for prohibiting images (b); which would have soon been converted into deities visible: and it was extremely prudent, to supply the want of a visible god, with endless shews and ceremonies; which accordingly became the capital branch of the Jewish worship.

It appears to me from the whole history of the Jews, that a gross people are not susceptible but of a gross religion; and without an enlightened understanding, that it is vain to think of eradicating superstition and idolatry. And after all the covenants made with the Jews, after all the chastisements and all the miracles lavish'd on them, that they were not however reclaimed from the most groveling idolatry, is evident from the two golden calves fabricated by Jeroboam, saying, “Behold thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt (c).” The people also of Judah fell back to idol-worship under Rehoboam, son of Solomon (d). Jehu, king of the ten tribes, did not tolerate the

(a) Exod. xxxii. 7.

(b) Deuteronomy, xvi. 22.

(c) 1 Kings, xii. 28.

(d) 1 Kings, xiv. 23.

worship of other gods (*a*) ; but he continued to worship the two golden calves fabricated by Jeroboam (*b*). Down to the days of King Hezekiah, the Jews worshipped the brazen serpent erected by Moses in the wilderness. The Jews seem indeed to have been a very perverse people : the many promises and threatenings announced by their prophets, and the many miracles wrought among them, had no permanent effect to restrain them from idolatry ; and yet, during their captivity in Babylon, several of them submitted to be burnt alive, rather than to join in idol-worship (*c*). Captivity cured them radically of idolatry ; and from that period to this day, they have not been guilty of a single relapse. Xiphilin, in his abridgement of Dion Cassius, relating their war with Pompey, many centuries after the Babylonish captivity, gives the following account of them. “ Their customs are quite different from those of other nations. Beside a peculiar manner of living, they acknowledge none of the common deities : they acknowledge but one, whom they worship with great veneration. There never was an image in Jerusalem ; because they believe their God to be invisible and ineffable. They have built him a temple of great size and beauty, remarkable in the following particular, that it is open above, without any roof.”

There lies no solid objection against images among an enlightened people, when used merely to rouse devotion. But as images tend to pervert the vulgar, they ought not to be admitted into churches : pictures are less liable to be misapprehended ; and the Ethiopians accordingly indulge pictures, tho’ they prohibit statues, in their churches. The general council of Frankfort permit-

(*a*) 2 Kings, x. 25.

(*b*) 2 Kings, x. 29.

(*c*) Daniel, chap. 3.

ted the use of images in churches ; but strictly prohibited any worship to be addressed to them. So prone however to idolatry are the low and illiterate, that the prohibition lost ground both in France and in Germany ; and idol-worship became again general.

It is extremely probable, that the sun and moon were early held to be deities, and that they were the first visible objects of worship. It must indeed be acknowledged, that of all the different kinds of idolatry, it is the most excusable. Upon the sun depends health, vigour, and cheerfulness : during his retirement, all is dark and disconsolate : when he performs his majestic round, to bless his subjects, and to bestow fecundity upon every animal and vegetable, can a mere savage withhold gratitude and veneration ! Hear an old Pagan bard upon that subject. “ O
 “ thou who rollest above, round as the shield of my fathers !
 “ Whence are thy beams, O sun, thy everlasting light ? Thou
 “ comest forth in thy awful beauty, and the stars hide their face :
 “ thou movest alone, for who can be a companion of thy course !
 “ The oaks of the mountain fall : the mountains decay with
 “ years : the ocean shrinks and grows again : the moon herself is
 “ lost in heaven : but thou art for ever the same, rejoicing in the
 “ brightness of thy course. When tempests darken the world,
 “ when thunder rolls, and lightning flies, thou lookest in thy
 “ beauty from the clouds, and laughest at the storm (a).” Wor-
 ship to the sun as a real deity, was in former times universal ;
 and prevails in many countries even at present. The American
 savages worship the sun, as sovereign of the universe, known by the
 name of *Ariskoui* among the Hurons, and of *Agriskoué* among the
 Iroquois. They offer him tobacco, which they term *smoking the*
sun : the chief man in the assembly lights the calumet, and offers

(a) Ossian.

it thrice to the rising sun ; imploring his protection, and recommending the tribe to his care. The chief proceeds to smoke ; and every one smokes in his turn. This ceremony is performed on important occasions only : less matters are reserved for their Manitou. The Mississippi people offer to the sun the first of what they take in hunting ; which their commander artfully converts to his own use. The Apalachites, bordering on Florida, worship the sun ; but sacrifice nothing to him that has life : they hold him to be the parent of life, and think that he can take no pleasure in the destruction of any living creature : their devotion is exerted in perfumes and songs. The Mexicans, while a free people, presented to the sun a share of their meat and drink. The inhabitants of Darien, believe in the sun as their god, and in the moon as his wife, paying equal adoration to each. The people of Borneo, worship the sun and moon as real divinities. The Samoides worship both, bowing to them morning and evening in the Persian manner.

But if the sun and moon were the first objects of idolatry, knowledge and reflection reformed many from the error of holding these luminaries to be deities. “ That original intelligence,” say the Magians, “ who is the first principle of all things, discovers himself to the mind and understanding only : but he “ hath placed the sun as his image in the visible universe ; and “ the beams of that bright luminary, are but a faint copy of the “ glory that shines in the higher heavens.” The Persians, as Herodotus reports, had neither temples, nor altars, nor images : for, says that author, they do not think, like the Greeks, that there is any resemblance between gods and men. The Gaures, who to this day profess the ancient religion of Persia, celebrate divine worship before the sacred fire, and turn with peculiar veneration toward the rising sun, as the representative of God ; but they adore neither the sun, nor the sacred fire. They are professed e-

nemies to every image of the Deity cut with hands : and hence the havock made by the ancient Persians, upon the statues and temples of the Grecian gods. Such sublimity of thought was above the reach of other uninspired nations, excepting only the Hindows and Chinese.

I close the history of idolatry with a brief recapitulation of the outlines. Admitting the sun and moon to have been the first objects of idolatry, yet as Polytheism was once universal, they make only two of the many gods that were every where worshipped. We have seen, that the sacred fire was employ'd in the worship of the sun, and that images were employ'd in the worship of other deities. Images were originally used for the sole purpose of animating devotion : such was their use in Persia and Hindostan ; and such was their use in every country among philosophers. The Emperor Julian, in an epistle to Theodore concerning the images of the gods, says, " We believe not that these images are gods : " we only use them in worshipping the gods." In the progress toward idolatry, the next step is, to imagine, that a deity loves his image, that he makes it his residence, or at least communicates some virtue to it. The last step is, to imagine the image itself to be a deity ; which gained ground imperceptibly as statuary advanced toward perfection. It would be incredible that men of sense should ever suffer themselves to be impressed with so wild a delusion, were it not the overbearing influence of religious superstition. *Credo quia impossibile est*, is applicable to idolatry as well as to transubstantiation. The worshipping the sun and moon as deities, is idolatry in the strictest sense. With respect to images, the first step of the progress is not idolatry : the next is mixed idolatry : and the last is rank idolatry.

So much upon idolatry. I proceed to what approaches the nearest to it, which is worship addressed to deified mortals. The ancient gods were exalted so little above men, that it was no hard task

task for the imagination to place in heaven, men who had made a figure on earth. The Grecian heaven was entirely peopled with such men, as well as that of many other nations. Men are deified every day by the Romish church, under the denomination of saints: persons are frequently selected for that honour who scarce deserved a place on earth, and some who never had a place there. The Roman Catholics copy the Pagans, in worshipping these subordinate divinities by prayers and oblations: and they are well rewarded, by being taken under protection of these saints in quality of tutelar deities. One branch of the office bestow'd on these saints, is to explain the wants of their votaries to the King of heaven, and to supplicate for them. The mediatorial office prevails with respect to earthly potentates, as well as heavenly: being struck with awe and timidity in approaching those exalted above us, we naturally take hold of some intermediate person to solicit for us. In approaching the Almighty, the mind, sinking down into humility and profound veneration, stops short, relying upon some friend in heaven to intercede in its behalf. Temples among the Cochin-Chinese are constructed with a deep and dark niche, which is their *sanctum sanctorum*. They hold, that no representation, whether by painting or sculpture, can be made of God, who is invisible. The niche denotes his incomprehensibility; and the good men placed by them in heaven, are believed to be their intercessors at the throne of grace. The prayers of the Chinguliese are seldom directed to the supreme being, but to his vicegerents. Intercessors, at the same time, contribute to the ease of their votaries: a Roman Catholic need not assume a very high tone in addressing a tutelar saint chosen by himself.

False notions of Providence have prompted groveling mortals to put confidence in mediators and intercessors of a still lower class, viz. living mortals, who by idle austerities have acquired a reputation for holiness. Take the following instance, the strongest

est

est of the kind that can be figured. Louis XI. of France, sensible of the approach of death, sent for a hermit of Calabria, named *Francisco Martarillo*; and throwing himself at the hermit's feet in a flood of tears, entreated him to intercede with God, that his life might be prolonged; as if the voice of a Calabrian friar, says Voltaire, could alter the course of Providence, by preserving a weak and perverse soul in a worn-out body.

Having discussed the persons that are the objects of worship, the next step in order is, to take under view the forms and ceremonies employ'd in religious worship. Forms are necessary wherever a number of persons join in one operation: they are essential in an army, and little less essential at public worship. The use of ceremonies is to excite devotion: but to preserve a just medium, requires great delicacy of taste; for tho' ceremonies are necessary at public worship to prevent languor, yet superfluity of ceremonies quenches devotion, by occupying the mind too much upon externals. The Roman-Catholic worship is crowded with ceremonies: it resembles the Italian operà, which is all sound, and no sentiment. The Presbyterian form of worship is too naked: it is proper for philosophers more than for the populace. This is fundamentally the cause of the numerous secessions from the church of Scotland that have made a figure of late: people dislike the established forms, when they find less comfort in public worship than is expected; and without being sensible of the real cause, they chuse pastors for themselves, who supply the want of ceremonies by loud speaking, with much external fervor and devotion.

The frequent ablutions or washings among the Mahometans and others, as acts of devotion, shew the influence that the slightest resemblances have on the ignorant. Because purification, in several languages, is a term applicable to the mind as well as to the body, shallow thinkers, misled by the double meaning, imagine that the mind, like the body, is purified by water.

The

The sect of Ali use the Alcoran translated into the Persian language, which is their native tongue. The sect of Omar esteem this to be a gross impiety; being persuaded, that the Alcoran was written in Arabic, by the Angel Gabriel, at the command of God himself. The Roman Catholics are not then the only people who profess to speak nonsense to God Almighty; or, which is the same, who profess to pray in an unknown tongue.

At meals, the ancients poured out some wine as a libation to the gods: Christians pronounce a short prayer, termed a *grace*.

The gross notion of Deity entertained by the ancients, is exemplified in their worshipping and sacrificing on high places; in order, as they thought, to be more within sight. Jupiter in Homer praises Hector for sacrificing to him frequently upon the top of Ida; and Strabo observes, that the Persians, who used neither images nor altars, sacrificed to the gods in high places. Balak carried Balaam the prophet to the top of Pisgah, and other mountains, to sacrifice there, and to curse Israel. The votaries of Baal always worshipped in high places. Even the sage Tacitus was infected with that absurdity. Speaking of certain high mountains where the gods were worshipped, he expresses himself thus: *Maxime celo appropinquare, precesque mortalium a Deo nusquam propius audiri* *.

Ceremonies that tend to unhinge morality, belong more properly to the following section, treating of the connection between religion and morality.

It is now full time to take under consideration an objection to the sense of Deity hinted above, arguing from the gross conceptions of deity among many nations, that this sense cannot be innate. The objection is not indeed stated in the following passage,

* "As approaching nearer to heaven, the prayers of mortals are there more distinctly heard."

borrowed from a justly-celebrated author ; but as it may be implied, the passage shall be fairly transcribed. “ The universal
 “ propensity to believe invifible intelligent power, being a gene-
 “ ral attendant on human nature, if not an original inftinct, may
 “ be confidered as a kind of ftamp which the Deity has fet upon
 “ his work ; and nothing furely can more dignify mankind,
 “ than to be the only earthly being who bears the ftamp or image
 “ of the univerfal Creator. But confult this image as it common-
 “ ly is in popular religions : how is the Deity diffigured ! what
 “ caprice, abfurdity, and immorality, are attributed to him (a) !”
 A fatisfactory anfwer to the objection implied in this paffage, will occur, upon recollecting the progrefs of men and nations from infancy to maturity. Our external fenfes, neceffary for felf-prefervation, foon arrive at perfection : the more refined fenfes of propriety, of right and wrong, of Deity, of being accountable creatures, and many others of the fame kind, are of flower growth : the fenfe of right and wrong in particular, and the fenfe of Deity, feldom reach perfection, but by good education and much ftudy. If fuch be the cafe among enlightened nations, what is to be expected from favages who are in the loweft ftage of underftanding ? To a favage of New Holland, whole fenfe of deity is extremely obfcure, one may talk without end of a being who created the world, and who governs it by wife laws ; but in vain ; for the favage will be never the wifer. The fame favage hath alfo a glimmering of the moral fenfe, as all men have ; and yet in vain will you difcourfe to him of approbation and difapprobation, of merit and demerit : of thefe terms he has no clear conception. Hence the endlefs aberrations of rude and barbarous nations, from pure religion as well as from pure morality. Of the latter there are many inftances collected in the preceding tract ; and of

(a) Natural Hiftory of Religion.

the former, instances still more plentiful in the present tract. The sense of deity in dark times has indeed been strangely distorted by certain biases and passions that enslave the rude and illiterate: but these yield gradually to the rational faculty as it ripens, and at last leave religion free to sound philosophy. Then it is that men, listening to the innate sense of deity purified from every bias, acquire a clear conviction of one supreme Deity who made and governs the world.

The foregoing objection then, impartially considered, weighs not against the sense of deity more than against the moral sense. If it have weight, it resolves into a complaint against Providence for the weakness of the sense of deity in rude and illiterate nations. If such complaint be solidly founded, it pierces extremely deep: why have not all nations, even in their nascent state, the sense of deity, and the moral sense, in purity and perfection? why do they not possess all the arts of life without necessity of culture or experience? why are we born poor and helpless infants, instead of being produced complete in every member, internal and external, as Adam and Eve were? The plan of Providence is far above the reach of our weak criticisms. I shall only observe, that as, with respect to individuals, there is a progress from infancy to maturity; so there is a similar progress in every nation; from its savage state to its maturity in arts and sciences. A child that has just conceptions of the Deity and of his attributes, would be a great miracle; and would not such knowledge in a savage be equally so? Nor can I discover what benefit a child or a savage could reap from such knowledge; provided it remained a child or a savage in every other respect. The genuine fruits of religion, are gratitude to the Author of our being, veneration to him as the supreme being, absolute resignation to the established laws of his providence, and cheerful performance of every duty: but a child has not the slightest idea of gratitude nor of veneration, and very

little of moral duties ; and a savage, with respect to these, is not much superior to a child. The formation and government of the world, as far as we know, are excellent : we have great reason to presume the same with respect to what we do not know ; and every good man will rest satisfied with the following reflection, That we would have been men from the hour of our birth, complete in every part, had it been conformable to the system of unerring Providence.

S E C T. II.

Morality considered as a branch of duty to our Maker.

HAVING travelled long on a rough road, not a little fatiguing, the agreeable part lies before us ; which is, to treat of morality as a branch of religion. It was that subject which induced me to undertake the history of natural religion ; a subject that will afford salutary instruction, and will inspire true piety, if instruction can produce that effect.

Bayle starts a question, Whether a people may not be happy in society, and be qualified for good government, upon principles of morality singly, without any sense of religion. The question is ingenious, and may give opportunity for subtle reasoning ; but it is useless, because the fact supposed cannot happen. The principles of morality and of religion are equally rooted in our nature : they are indeed weak in children and in savages ; but they grow up together, and advance toward maturity with equal steps.

Where-

Where-ever the moral sense is in perfection, a sense of religion cannot be wanting; and if a man who has no sense of religion, live decently in society, he is more indebted for his conduct to good temper than to sound morals.

We have the authority of the Prophet Micah, formerly quoted, for holding, that religion, or, in other words, our duty to God, consists in doing justice, in loving mercy, and in walking humbly with him. The last is the foundation of religious worship, discussed in the foregoing section: the two former belong to the present head. And if we have gratitude to our Maker and Benefactor, if we owe implicit obedience to his will as our rightful sovereign, we ought not to separate the worship we owe to him, from justice and benevolence to our fellow-creatures; for to be unjust to them, to be cruel or hard-hearted, is a transgression of his will, no less gross than a total neglect of religious worship. "Master, which is the great commandment in the law?" "Jesus said unto him, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets (a)." "Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you. For I was hungry, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me in: naked, and ye clothed me: sick, and ye visited me: in prison, and ye came unto me. Then shall the righteous answer, saying, Lord, when saw we thee hungry, and fed thee? or thirsty, and gave thee drink? When saw we thee a stranger, and took thee in? or naked, and clothed thee? When saw we thee

(a) Matthew, xxii. 36.

“ sick, or in prison, and came unto thee? And the King shall
 “ answer, Verily I say unto you, in as much as ye have done it
 “ unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it un-
 “ to me (a).” “ Pure religion and undefiled before God, is this,
 “ To visit the fatherless and widow in their affliction; and to keep
 “ himself unpotted from the world (b).” “ *Hostias et victimas*
 “ *Domino offeram quas in usum mei protulit, ut rejiciam ei suum*
 “ *munus? Ingratum est; cum sit litabilis hostia bonus animus,*
 “ *et pura mens, et sincera conscientia. Igitur qui innocentiam co-*
 “ *lit, Domino supplicat; qui justitiam, Deo libat; qui fraudi-*
 “ *bus abstinet, propitiat Deum; qui hominem periculo subripit,*
 “ *optimam victimam cædit. Hæc nostra sacrificia, hæc Dei sacra*
 “ *sunt. Sic apud nos religiosior est ille, qui justior * (c).*” The
 laws of Zaleucus, lawgiver to the Locrians, who lived before the
 days of Pythagoras, are introduced with the following preamble.
 “ No man can question the existence of Deity who observes the
 “ order and harmony of the universe, which cannot be the pro-
 “ duction of chance. Men ought to bridle their passions, and to
 “ guard against every vice. God is pleased with no sacrifice but
 “ a sincere heart; and differs widely from mortals, whose delight

* “ Shall I offer to God for a sacrifice those creatures which his bounty has
 “ given me for my use? It were ingratitude to throw back the gift upon the gi-
 “ ver. The most acceptable sacrifice is an upright mind, an untainted conscience,
 “ and an honest heart. The actions of the innocent ascend to God in prayer;
 “ the observance of justice is more grateful than incense; the man who is sincere
 “ in his dealings, secures the favour of his Creator; and the delivery of a fellow-
 “ creature from danger or destruction, is dearer in the eyes of the Almighty than
 “ the sacrifice of blood.”

(a) Matthew, xxv. 34.

(b) James, i. 27.

(c) Minucius Felix.

“ are

“ are splendid ceremonies and rich offerings. Let justice there-
“ fore be studied ; for by that only can a man be acceptable to
“ the Deity. Let those who are tempted to do ill, have always
“ before their eyes, the severe judgements of the gods against
“ wicked men. Let them always keep in view the hour of death,
“ that fatal hour which is attended with bitter remorse for trans-
“ gressing the rules of justice. If a bad disposition incline you
“ to vice, pray to Heaven at the foot of the altar, to mend your
“ heart.”

Morality is thus included in religion. Some nations, however, leave not this proposition to reasoning or conviction, but ingross many moral duties in their religious creed. In the 67th chapter of the Sadder, a lie is declared to be a great sin, and is discharged even where it tends to bring about good. So much purer is the morality of the ancient Persians than of the present Jesuits. The religion of the people of Pegu, inculcates charity, forbids to kill, to steal, or to injure others. Attend to the consequence : that people, fierce originally, have become humane and compassionate. In a sacred book of the ancient Persians, it is written, “ If you
“ incline to be a saint, give good education to your children ;
“ for their virtuous actions will be imputed to you.” The people of Japan pay great respect to their parents ; it being an article in their creed, That those who fail in duty to their parents, will be punished by the gods. In these two instances, religion tends greatly to connect parents and children in the most intimate tie of cordial affection. The reverence the Chinese have for their ancestors, and the ceremonies performed annually at their tombs, tend to keep them at home, and prevent their wandering into foreign countries.

Superstitious rites in some religions, are successfully employ'd to enforce certain moral duties. The Romans commonly made their solemn covenants in the capitol, before the statue of Jupiter ;

ter ; by which solemnity he was understood to guarantee the covenant, ready to pour out vengeance upon the transgressor. The Burates, a people in Grand Tartary, have a custom, which is, to demand an oath upon a mountain, held to be sacred. They are firmly persuaded, that the person who swears a falsehood, will not come down alive. The Essenes, a Jewish sect, bound themselves by a solemn oath, to shun unlawful gain, to be faithful to their promises, not to lie, and never to harm any one. In Cochinchina, the souls of those who have been eminent for arts or arms, are worshipped. Their statues are placed in the temples ; and the size of a statue is proportioned to the merit of the person represented. If that custom be executed with candor, there cannot be a nobler incitement to public spirit. The Egyptians did not reach the thought of honouring virtue after death ; but they dishonoured vice, by prohibiting it from the Elysian fields.

The salutary influence of religion on morality, is not confined to pure religion, whether by its connection with morality in general, or by inculcating particular moral duties. There are many religious doctrines, doubtful or perhaps erroneous, that contribute also to enforce morality. Some followers of Confucius ascribe immortality to the souls only of the just ; and believe that the souls of the wicked perish with their bodies. In the second chapter of the Sadder, it is written, that a man whose good works are more numerous than his sins, will go to paradise ; otherwise that he will be thrust into hell, there to remain for ever. It adds, that a bridge erected over the great abyss where hell is situated, leads from this earth to paradise ; that upon the bridge there stands an angel, who weighs in a balance the merits of the passengers ; that the passenger whose good works are found light in the balance, is thrown over the bridge into hell ; but that the passenger whose good works preponderate, proceeds in his journey to paradise, where there is a glorious city, gardens, rivers, and beautiful

tiful virgins, whose looks are a perpetual feast, but who must not be enjoy'd. In the fourth chapter of the Sadder, good works are zealously recommended in the following parable. Zeradusht, or Zoroaster, being in company with God, saw a man in hell who wanted his right foot. "Oh my Creator," said Zoroaster, "who is that man who wants the right foot? God answered, "He was the king of thirty-three cities, reigned many years, "but never did any good, except once, when, seeing a sheep ty'd "where it could not reach its food, he with his right foot pushed "the food to it; upon which account, that foot was saved from "hell." In Japan, those of the Sinto religion believe, that the souls of good men are translated to a place of happiness, next to the habitation of their gods. But they admit no place of torment; nor have they any notion of a devil, but what animates the fox, a very mischievous animal in that country. What then becomes of the souls of ill men? Being denied entrance into heaven, they wander about to expiate their sins. Those of the Bubdo religion believe, that in the other world, there is a place of misery as well as of happiness. Of the latter, there are different degrees, for different degrees of virtue; and yet, far from envying the happier lot of others, every inhabitant is perfectly satisfied with his own. There are also different degrees of misery; for justice requires, that every man be punished according to the nature and number of his sins. *Jemma O* is the severe judge of the wicked: their vices appear to him in all their horror, by means of a mirror, named *the mirror of knowledge*. When souls have expiated their sins, after suffering long in the prison of darkness, they are sent back into the world, to animate serpents, toads, and such vile animals as resembled them in their former existence. From these they pass into the bodies of more innocent animals; and at last are again suffered to enter human bodies; after the dissolution of which, they run the same course of happiness or misery as at first. The people

*Heavenly joy is
aspirants of their
that they have
idea of for the
reward or punishment
of the soul.*

people of Benin, in Africa, believe a man's shadow to be a real being, that gives testimony after death for or against him ; and that he accordingly is made happy or miserable in another world. A religious belief in ancient Greece, that the souls of those who are left above ground without rites, have not access to Elysium, tended to promote humanity ; for those who are careful of the dead, will not be altogether indifferent about the living.

Immense are the blessings that men in society reap, from the union of pure religion with sound morality : but however immense, I boldly affirm, that they scarce counterbalance the manifold evils that society has suffered from impure religion, indulging and even encouraging gross immoralities. A few of the most glaring instances shall be selected. The first I shall mention is, the holding religion to consist in the belief of points purely speculative, such as have no relation to good works. The natural effect of that doctrine is, to divorce religion from morality, in manifest contradiction to the will of God. What avails it, for example, to the glory of God, or to the happiness of mankind, whether the conception of the Virgin Mary was maculate or immaculate ? The following few instances, taken out of a large heap, are controversies of that kind, which miserably afflicted the Christian church for ages, and engendered the bitterest enmity, raging with destruction and slaughter among brethren of the same religion. In the fifth century, it was the employment of more than one general council, to determine, whether *the mother of God*, or *the mother of Christ*, is the proper epithet of the Virgin Mary. In the sixth century, a bitter controversy arose, whether Christ's body was corruptible. In the seventh century, Christians were divided about the volition of Christ, whether he had one or two Wills, and how his Will operated. In the eighth and ninth centuries, the Greek and Latin churches divided about the Holy Ghost, whether he proceeded from the Father and Son, or only from the Father. In the eleventh century, there

there arose a warm contest between the Greek and Latin churches, about using unleavened bread in the eucharist. In the fourteenth century, it was controverted between Pope John XXII. and the divines of his time, whether souls in their intermediate state see God, or only the human nature of Christ. Franciscans have suffered death in multitudes about the form of their hood. It was disputed between the Dominicans and Franciscans, whether Christ had any property. The Pope pronounced the negative proposition to be a pestilential and blasphemous doctrine, subversive of Catholic faith. Many councils were held at Constantinople, to determine what sort of light it was that the disciples saw on Mount Tabor: it was solemnly pronounced, to be the eternal light with which God is encircled; and which may be termed his energy or operation, but is distinct from his nature and essence. A heap of propositions in the creed of St Athanasius, as far as intelligible, are merely speculative, such as may be adopted or rejected, without the least danger to religion, or to morality; and yet we are commanded to believe every one of them, under the pain of eternal damnation. An endless number of such propositions, adopted by the Romish church, clearly evince, that Christianity was in that church held to consist entirely in belief, without any regard to good works *. Whether the Alcoran was eternal, or whether it was created, is a dispute that has occasioned much effusion of Mahometan blood. The Calif Mamoun, with many doctors, held it to have been created; but the greater number insisted, that being the word of God, it must like him be eternal. This opinion is embraced by the present Mahometants, who hold all who deny it to be infidels. There is among men great uniformity of opinion in

* The great weight that was laid upon orthodoxy, appears from a triumphal arch erected over the tomb of Charlemagne, upon which was the following inscription: "Here lies the body of Charles, a great and orthodox emperor."

matters of importance. Religious differences are generally about trifles, where liberty ought to be indulged without reserve (a); and yet upon these trifles are founded the bitterest enmities. It ought therefore to be a fundamental law in every church, to abstain from loading its creed with articles that are not essential; for such articles tend to eradicate brotherly love, and to convert into bitter enemies, men who are fundamentally of the same faith.

In the next place shall be mentioned, certain articles of faith that tend to sap the very foundation of one or other moral duty. What, for example, can more effectually promote cruelty, than the creed of the *Idaans*, a people in the island of *Borneo*, That every person they put to death must attend them as a slave in the other world? This belief makes them prone to war, and occasions assassinations without end. According to the creed of the savages in *Canada*, the killing and burning enemies are what chiefly entitle them to be happy in another world; and that he who destroys the greatest number, will be the most happy. At the same time, they have no notion of greater happiness there, than plenty of game, great abundance of all things without labour, and full gratification of every sensual appetite. The *Scandinavians* had no notion of greater bliss in another world, than to drink beer out of the skull of an enemy, in the hall of *Woden*, their tutelar deity: can hatred and revenge in this world be more honourably rewarded? The doctrine of tutelar deities is equally productive of hatred and revenge: relying on a superior power who espouses all my quarrels, I put no bounds to my resentment, and every moral duty in opposition is trampled under foot. The following creed of the inhabitants of the *Marian* or *Ladrone* islands, is a great encouragement to cowardice. Heaven, according to that creed, is a region under the earth, filled with cocoa-trees, sugar-

(a) *Elements of Criticism*, vol. 2. p. 493. edit. 5.

canes,

canes, and variety of other delicious fruits. Hell is a vast furnace, constantly red hot. Their condition in the other world depends not on good or bad actions, but on the manner of their death. Those who die a natural death, go straight to heaven: they may sin freely, if they can but secure their persons against violence. But war and bloodshed are their aversion, because those who suffer a violent death go straight to hell. In many ancient nations, a goddess was worshipped, whose province it was to promote animal love without regard to matrimony. That goddess was in Greece termed *Aphrodité*, in Rome *Venus*, and in Babylon *Mylitta*. To her was sacrificed, in some countries, the virginity of young women; which, it was believed, did secure their chastity for ever after. Justin mentions a custom in the island of Cyprus, of sending young women at stated times to the sea-shore; where they prostituted themselves as a tribute to Venus, that they might be chaste the rest of their lives. His words are, "Pro reliqua
" pudicitiae libamenta Veneri soluturas (a)." In other nations, a small number only were prostituted, in order to secure to the remainder, a chaste and regular life. This explains a custom among the Babylonians, which, far from being thought a religious act, is held as a proof of abandoned debauchery. The custom was, That every woman once in her life should prostitute herself in the temple of the goddess Mylitta. Herodotus reports, that thereby they became proof against all temptation. And Ælian observes the same of the Lydian ladies. *Credat Judeus Apella*. Margaret Poretta, who in the fourteenth century made a figure among the Beguines, preached a doctrine not a little favourable to incontinence. She undertook to demonstrate, "That the soul, when
" absorbed in the love of God, is free from the restraint of law,
" and may freely gratify every natural appetite, without contract-

(a) Lib. 18. cap. 5.

3 K 2 "ing
 But in the 18th century, when the
 the 18th century, when the
 my 18th century, when the

“ing guilt;” a cordial doctrine for a lady of pleasure. That crazy person, instead of being laugh’d at, was burnt alive at Paris. In the fifteenth century, a sect termed *brethren and sisters of the free spirit*, held, That modesty is a mark of inhering corruption; and that those only are perfect, who can behold nakedness without emotion. These fanatics appeared at public worship, without the least covering. Many tenets professed by the Jesuits, open a door to every immorality. “Persons truly wicked, and void of the love of God, may expect eternal life in heaven; provided only they be impressed with fear of divine anger, and avoid heinous crimes through the dread of future punishment.” Again, “Persons may transgress with safety, who have a probable reason for transgressing, such as any plausible argument. A judge, for example, may decide for the least probable side of a question, and even against his own opinion, provided he be supported by any tolerable authority.” Again, “Actions intrinsically evil, and contrary to divine law, may however be innocently performed, by those who can join, even ideally, a good end to the performance. For example, an ecclesiastic may safely commit simony, by purchasing a benefice, if to the unlawful act, he join the innocent purpose of procuring to himself a subsistence. A man who runs another through the body for a slight affront, renders the action lawful, if his motive be honour, not revenge.” A famous Jesuit taught, that a young man may wish the death of his father, and even rejoice at his death, provided the wish proceed, not from hatred, but from fondness of his father’s estate. And another Jesuit has had the effrontery to maintain, that a monk may lawfully assassinate a calumniator, who threatens to charge his order with scandalous practices.

A doctrine that strikes at the root of every moral duty, as well as of religion itself, is, That God will accept a composition for
sin;

fin; a doctrine that prevailed universally during the days of ignorance. Compositions for crimes were countenanced by law in every country (a); and men, prone to indulge their passions, flatter'd themselves, that they might compound with God for sinning against him, as with their neighbours for injuring them. Those who have no notion of any motive but interest, naturally think it to be equally powerful with the Deity. An opinion prevailed universally in the Christian church, from the eighth century down to the Reformation, that liberal donations to God, to a saint, to the church, would procure pardon even for the grossest sins. During that period, the building churches and monasteries was in high vogue. This absurd or rather impious doctrine, proved a plentiful harvest of wealth to the clergy; for the great and opulent, who are commonly the boldest sinners, have the greatest ability to compound for their sins. There needs nothing but such an opinion, to annihilate every duty, whether moral or religious; for what wicked man will think either of restitution or of reformation, who can purchase a pardon from Heaven with so little trouble? Louis XI. of France was remarkably superstitious, even in a superstitious age. To ingratiate himself with the Virgin Mary, he surrendered to her the county of Boulogne with great solemnity. Voltaire remarks, that godliness consists, not in making the Virgin a Countess, but in abstaining from sin. Composition for sins is a doctrine of the church of Rome, boldly professed without disguise. A book of rates, published by authority of the Pope, contains stated prices for absolutions, not excepting the most heinous sins that men are capable to commit. So true is the observation of Æneas Silvius, afterward Pope Paul II. "Nihil est
 " quod absque argento Romana curia det: ipsa manuum impositio,
 " et Spiritus Sancti dona, venduntur; nec peccatorum venia nisi

(a) Historical Law-tracts, tract 1.

" nummatis

“ nummatis impenditur *.” Of all the immoral atonements for sin, human sacrifices are the most brutal ; deviating no less from the purity of religion, than from the fundamental principles of morality. They wore out of use as kindly affections prevailed ; and will never again be restored, unless we fall back to the savage manners of our forefathers. Composition for crimes, once universal, is now banished from every enlightened nation. Composition for sins, was once equally universal ; and I wish it could be said, that there are now no remains of that poisonous opinion among Christians : the practice of the church of Rome will not permit it to be said. Were men deeply convinced, as they ought to be, that sincere repentance and reformation of manners are the only means for obtaining pardon, they would never dream of making bargains with the Almighty, and of compounding with him for their sins.

In the practice of religion, the laying too great weight on forms, ceremonies, and other external arbitrary acts, has an unhappy tendency on morality. That error has infected every religion. The Sadder, the Bible of the Gaures, prohibits calumny and detraction, lying, stealing, adultery, and fornication. It however enervates morality and religion, by placing many trifling acts on a level with the most important duties. It enjoins the destruction of five kinds of reptiles, frogs, mice, ants, serpents, and flies that sting. It teaches, that to walk barefoot profanes the ground. Great regard for water is enjoined : it must not be used during the night ; and when set upon the fire, a third part of the pot must be empty, to prevent boiling over. The bramins have wofully degenerated from their original institutions, thinking at

* “ There is nothing to be obtained from the court of Rome, but by the force
“ of money : even the ceremony of consecration, and the gifts of the Holy Ghost,
“ are sold ; and the remission of sins is bestowed only on those who can pay for
“ it.”

present,

present, that religion consists in forms and ceremonies. As soon as an infant is born, the word *Oum* must be pronounced over it; otherwise it will be eternally miserable: its tongue must be rubbed with consecrated meal: the third day of the moon, it must be carried into open air, with its head to the north. The inhabitants of Formosa believe in hell; but it is only for punishing those who fail to go naked in certain seasons, or who wear cotton instead of silk. In the time of Ghenhizcan, it was held in Tartary a mortal sin, to put a knife into the fire, to whip a horse with his bridle, or to break one bone with another; and yet these pious Tartars held treachery, robbery, murder, to be no sins. A faction in Ægina, a Greek commonwealth, treacherously assassinated seven hundred of their fellow-citizens. They cut off the hands of a miserable fugitive, who had laid hold of the altar for protection, in order to murder him without the precincts of the temple. Their treacherous assassinations made no impression: but tho' they refrained from murder in the temple, yet by profaning it with blood, says Herodotus, they offended the gods, and contracted inextinguishable guilt. Would one believe, that a tribunal was established by Charlemagne more horrible than the inquisition itself? It was established in Westphalia, to punish with death every Saxon who eat meat in lent. The same law was established in Flanders and in French-county, the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Listen to a celebrated writer upon that poisonous conceit. " It
" is certain, that in every religion, however sublime, many of
" the votaries, perhaps the greatest number, will still seek the di-
" vine favour, not by virtue and good morals, which alone can
" be acceptable to a perfect being, but either by frivolous obser-
" vances, by intemperate zeal, by rapturous ecstasies, or by the
" belief of mysterious and absurd opinions. When the old Ro-
" mans were attacked with a pestilence, they never ascribed their
" sufferings

“ sufferings to their vices, or dreamed of repentance and amend-
 “ ment. They never thought that they were the general robbers
 “ of the world, whose ambition and avarice made desolate the
 “ earth, and reduced opulent nations to want and beggary. They
 “ only created a dictator in order to drive a nail into a door; and
 “ by that means they thought that they had sufficiently appeased
 “ their incensed deity (a).” Thus, gradually, the essentials of
 religion wear out of mind, by the attention given to forms and
 ceremonies: these intercept and exhaust the whole stock of de-
 votion, which ought to be reserved for the higher exercises of reli-
 gion. The neglect or transgression of mere punctilios, are punish-
 ed as heinous sins; while sins really heinous are suffered to pass
 with impunity. The Jews exalted the keeping their sabbath holy,
 above every other duty; and it was the general belief, that the
 strict observance of that day was alone sufficient to atone for every
 sin. The command of resting that day, was taken so literally,
 that they would not on that day defend themselves even against an
 assassin. Ptolomy, son of Lagus, entered Jerusalem on the Jewish
 sabbath, in a hostile manner without resistance. Nor did experience
 open the eyes of that foolish people. Xiphilin, relating the siege
 of Jerusalem by Pompey, says, that if the Jews had not rested
 on the sabbath, Pompey would not have been successful. Every
 Saturday he renewed his batteries; and having on that day made
 a breach, he marched into the town without opposition. One
 cannot help smiling at an Amsterdam Jew, who had no check of
 conscience, for breaking open a house, and carrying off money;
 and yet being stopped in his flight by the sabbath before he got
 out of the territory, he most piously rested, till he was apprehend-
 ed, and led to the gallows. Nor are the Jews to this day cured
 of that frenzy. In some late accounts from Constantinople, a fire

(a) Natural History of Religion, by David Hume, Esquire.

broke out in a Jew's house on Saturday : rather than profane the sabbath, he suffered the flames to spread, which occasioned the destruction of five hundred houses *. We laugh at the Jews, and we have reason ; and yet there are many well-meaning Protestants, who lay the whole of religion upon punctual attendance at public worship. Are the Roman Catholics less superstitious with respect to the place of worship, than the Jews are with respect to the day of worship ? In the year 1670, some Arabians, watching an opportunity, got into the town of Dieu when the gates were opened in the morning. They might easily have been expelled by the canon of the citadel ; but the Portuguese governor was obliged to look on without firing a gun, being threatened with excommunication, if the least mischief should be done to any of the churches. The only doctrines inculcated from the Romish pulpit down to the Reformation, were the authority of holy mother church ; the merit of the saints, and their credit in the court of heaven ; the dignity, glory, and love of the blessed Virgin ; the efficacy of relics ; the intolerable fire of purgatory ; and the vast importance of indulgences. Relying on such pious acts for obtaining remission of sins, all orders of men rushed headlong into vice † ; nor was there

a

* “ And there was a woman which had a spirit of infirmity eighteen years, and
 “ was bowed together. And Jesus laid his hands on her : and immediately she
 “ was made straight, and glorified God. And the ruler of the synagogue with
 “ indignation said unto the people, There are six days in which men ought to
 “ work : in them therefore come and be healed, and not on the sabbath-day. The
 “ Lord then said, ‘Thou hypocrite, doth not each one of you on the sabbath loose
 “ his ox or his ass from the stall, and lead him away to watering ? and ought not
 “ this woman, whom Satan hath bound, be loosed from this bond on the sabbath-
 “ day ?’” *Luke, xiii. 11.*

† An ingenious writer pleasantly observes, “ That a croisade was the South-sea
 “ project of former times : by the latter, men hoped to gain riches without indu-
 Vol. II. 3 L “ stry :

a single attempt to stem the current of immorality ; for the traffic of indulgences could not but flourish in proportion to the growth of sin. And thus was religion set in direct opposition to morality. St Eloy, bishop of Noyon in the seventh century, and canonized by the church of Rome, delivers the following doctrine. “ He is a good Christian who goes frequently to church ; “ who presents his oblations upon the altar ; who tastes not the “ fruit of his own industry till part be consecrated to God ; who, “ when the holy festivals approach, lives chastely even with his “ own wife for several days ; and who can repeat the creed and “ the Lord’s prayer. Redeem then your souls from destruction, “ while you have the means in your power : offer presents and “ tithes to churchmen : come more frequently to church : hum- “ bly implore the patronage of saints. If you observe these “ things, you may, in the day of judgement, go with confidence “ to the tribunal of the eternal Judge, and say, Give to us, O “ Lord, for we have given unto thee.” A modern author sub-joins a proper observation. “ We see here a very ample descrip- “ tion of a good Christian, in which there is not the least men- “ tion of the love of God, resignation to his will, obedience to “ his laws, nor of justice, benevolence, nor charity.” Gross ignorance and wretched superstition prevailed so much even in the fourteenth century, that people reckoned themselves secure of salvation, if at the day of judgement they could show any connection with monks. Many at the point of death, made it their last request, to be admitted into the mendicant order, or to be interred in their burial-place. Religion need not associate with morality, if such silly practices be sufficient for obtaining the favour of

“ stry : by the former, they hoped to gain heaven without repentance, amendment “ of life, or sanctity of manners.” *Sir David Dalrymple, a judge in the court of session.*

God.

God. Is this less absurd than the Hindostan belief, That the water of the Ganges hath a sanctifying virtue; and that those who die on its banks, are not only exempted from future punishment, but are wafted straight to paradise?

Forms and ceremonies are visible acts, which make a deep impression on the vulgar. Hence their influence in reasoning and in morality, as we have seen in the two sketches immediately foregoing; and hence also their influence in religion. Forms and ceremonies are useful at public worship; but they ought not to take place of essentials. People however, governed by what they see and hear, are more addicted to external acts of devotion, than to heart-worship, which is not known but by reflection.

It will be no excuse for relying so much on forms and ceremonies, that they are innocent. In themselves they may be innocent; but not so in their consequences. For they have by such reliance a violent tendency to relax the obligations of morality. Religious rites that contradict not any passion, are keenly embraced, and punctually performed; and men, flattering themselves that they have thus been punctual in their duty to God, give vent to their passions against men. "They pay tithes of mint, and anise, and cummin; but omit the weightier matters of the law, judgement, mercy, and faith (a)." Upon such a man religion sits extremely light. As he seldom exercises any act of genuine devotion, he thinks of the Deity with ease and familiarity: how otherwise is it accountable, that the plays, termed *Mysteries*, could be relished, where mean and perhaps dissolute persons are brought on the stage, acting Jesus Christ, the Virgin Mary, and even God himself? These divine persons were certainly not more regarded, than the Grecian gods, who frequently made part of the *Dramatis persone* in Greek plays. Many other facts might be urged, to prove the low ebb of reli-

(a) Matthew, xxiii. 23.

gion in those days : I select one or two, which probably will afford some amusement to the reader. Bartolus, the famous lawyer, in order to shew the form of proceeding in a court of justice, imagines a process between the devil and mankind. The devil cites mankind to appear at the tribunal of Jesus Christ, claiming them as belonging to him by Adam's fall. He swells in rage, demanding whether any one dares appear in their behalf. Against the Virgin Mary, offering herself as their advocate, the devil makes two objections ; first, That being the mother of the Judge, her influence would be too great ; second, That a woman is debarred from being an advocate : and these objections are supported by numberless quotations from the *Corpus Juris*. The Virgin, on her part, quotes texts permitting women to appear for widows, orphans, and for persons in distress. She is allowed to plead for mankind, as coming under the last article. The devil urges prescription, as having been in possession of mankind ever since the fall. The Virgin answers, That a *mala-fide possessor* cannot acquire by prescription. Prescription being repelled, the parties go to the merits of the cause, which are learnedly discussed with texts from the Pandects. The memoirs of the French academy of Belles Lettres (a) has the following story. A monk returning from a house which he durst not visit in day-light, had a river to cross. The boat was overturned by Satan, and the monk was drowned when he was beginning to invoke the Virgin Mary. Two devils having laid hold of his soul, were stopped by two angels. " My Lords," said the devils, " true it is, and not a fable, that God died for his friends ; but this monk was an enemy to God, and " we are carrying him to hell." After much altercation, it was proposed by the angels, to refer the dispute to the Virgin Mary. The devils were willing to accept of God for judge, because he would judge according to law. " But from the Virgin Mary,"

(a) Vol. 18.

said

said they, “ we expect no justice : she would break to atoms every gate of hell, rather than suffer one to remain there a moment who pays any worship to her image. She may say, that black is white, and that puddled water is pure.—God never contradicts her. The day on which God made his mother, was a fatal day to us.”

People who profess the same religion, and differ only in forms and ceremonies, may justly be compared to neighbouring states, who are commonly bitter enemies to each other, if they have any difference. At the same time, dissocial passions never rage so furiously, as under the mask of religion ; for in that case they are held to be meritorious, as exerted in the cause of God. This observation is but too well verified in the disputes among Christians. However low religion was in the dark ages, yet men fought for forms and ceremonies as *pro aris et focis*. In the Armenian form of baptism, the priest says at the first immersion, *In name of the Father* ; at the second, *In name of the Son* ; at the third, *In name of the Holy Ghost*. This form is bitterly condemned by the Romish church, which appoints the three persons of the Trinity to be joined in the same expression, in token of their union. Strahlenberg gives an account of a Christian sect in Russia, which differs from the established Greek church in the following particulars. First, In public worship they repeat *Halleluia* but twice ; and it is a mortal sin to repeat it thrice. Second, In celebrating mass, not five but seven loaves ought to be used. Third, The cross stamped upon a mass-loaf ought to have eight corners. Fourth, In signing with the cross at prayers, the end of the ring-finger must be joined to the end of the thumb, and the two intermediate fingers be held out at full length. How trifling are these differences ! and yet for such differences, all who dissent from them are held unclean, and no better than Pagans : they will not eat nor drink with any of the established church ; and if

a person of that church happen to sit down in a house of theirs, they wash and purify the seat *. There are few sects founded upon more trivial differences than the Turkish and Persian Mahometans. The epithets given to the Persians by the Turks are, "Forfaken of God, Abominable, Blasphemers of the Holy Prophet;" and so bitter is their enmity to the Persians, that the schools of the seraglio are open to young men of all nations, those of Persia alone excepted. The Persians are held to be such apostates from the true faith, as to be utterly past recovery: they receive no quarter in war, being accounted unworthy of life or slavery. Nor do the Persians yield to the Turks in hatred. Whether coffee be or be not prohibited in the Alcoran, has produced much controversy in the Mahometan church, and consequently much persecuting zeal. A mufti, not fond of coffee, declared it, like wine, to have an inebriating quality, and therefore was virtually prohibited by Mahomet. Another mufti, fond of coffee for its exhilarating virtue, declared it lawful; "because," said he, "all things are lawful that are not expressly prohibited in the Alcoran." The coffeehouses in Constantinople, were for a long period alternately opened and shut, according to the taste of the reigning mufti; till coffee at last, surmounting all obstacles, came to be an established Mahometan liquor. Religion thus runs wild, whenever it loses sight of its true ends, that of worshipping God, and that of being just to man. The Hindows hate the Mahometans for eating the flesh of cows: the Mahometans hate the Hindows for eating the flesh of swine. The aversion that men of

* Christians, occupy'd too much with external forms, have corrupted several of the fine arts. They have injured architecture, by erecting magnificent churches in the ugly form of a cross. And they have injured painting, by withdrawing the best hands from proper subjects, and employing them on the legendary martyrdom of pretended saints, and other such disagreeable stories.

the

pearance, but in its consequences is hurtful both to religion and morality ; which is, That to testify our veneration for the Deity, and zeal for his service, the performing public and private worship, and the fulfilling moral duties, are not alone sufficient ; that over and above we are bound to fast, to do penance, to honour the priesthood, and to punish the enemies of God, *i. e.* those who differ from us in principles or practice. This maxim, which may be termed *the doctrine of supererogation*, is finely illustrated by an author mentioned above. “ The duties which a man performs
“ as a friend or parent, seem merely owing to his benefactor or
“ children ; nor can he be wanting to these duties without break-
“ ing through all the ties of nature and morality. A strong in-
“ clination may prompt him to the performance : a sentiment of
“ order and moral beauty joins its force to these natural ties :
“ and the whole man is drawn to his duty without any effort or
“ endeavour. Even with regard to the virtues which are more
“ austere, and more founded on reflection, such as public spirit,
“ filial duty, temperance, or integrity : the moral obligation, in
“ our apprehension, removes all pretence to religious merit : and
“ the virtuous conduct is esteemed no more than what we owe
“ to society, and to ourselves. In all this, a superstitious man
“ finds nothing which he has properly performed for the sake of
“ his Deity, or which can peculiarly recommend him to the di-
“ vine favour and protection. He considers not, that the most
“ genuine method of serving the Divinity is, by promoting the
“ happiness of his creatures. He still looks out for some more
“ immediate service of the supreme Being : and any practice re-
“ commended to him, which either serves to no purpose in life,
“ or offers the strongest violence to his natural inclinations ; that
“ practice he will the more readily embrace, on account of those
“ very circumstances, which should make him absolutely reject
“ it. It seems the more purely religious, that it proceeds from
“ no

gance: like the body, which squeezed in one part, swells the more in another. In the same way of thinking, the pious Jeremy Taylor, treating of mortification, prescribes it as the indispensable duty of a Christian, to give no indulgence even to the most innocent emotions; because, says he, the most indifferent action becomes sinful, when there is no other motive for the performance but barely its being pleasant. Could a malevolent deity contrive any thing more severe against his votaries?

In the same spirit of supererogation, holidays have been multiplied without end, depriving the working poor of time, that would be more usefully employ'd in providing bread for themselves and families. Such a number of holidays, beside contradicting Providence, which framed us more for action than contemplation, have several poisonous effects with respect to morality. The moral sense has great influence on the industrious, who have no time for indulging their irregular appetites: the idle, on the contrary, are obvious to every temptation. Men likewise are apt to assume great merit from a rigid observance of holidays and other ceremonies; and having thus acquired, in their opinion, the favour of God, they rely on his indulgence in other matters which they think too sweet for sinners.

Monastic institutions are an improvement upon holidays: the whole life of a monk is intended to be a holiday, dedicated entirely to the service of God. The idleness of the monastic state among Christians, opens a wide door to immorality.

In the third section, penances are handled as a mode of worship, for obtaining pardon of sin. But they are sometimes submitted to by the innocent, in order to procure from the Almighty still more favour than innocence alone is entitled to; in which view they are evidently a work of supererogation. They seem to have no bad effect with respect to religion, as distinguished from morality: the body is indeed cruciated unnecessarily; but if enthusiasts

thusiasts voluntarily submit to bodily distresses, they have themselves only to blame. With respect to morality, their bad tendency is not flight. Those who perform extraordinary acts of devotion, conceive themselves peculiarly entitled to the favour of God. Proud of his favour, they attach themselves to him alone, and turn indifferent about every other duty. The favourite of a terrestrial potentate, assumes authority; and takes liberties that private persons dare not venture upon: shall a favourite of Heaven be less indulged? The Faquirs in Hindostan submit to dreadful penances; and, holding themselves secure of God's favour, they are altogether indifferent about the duty they owe to their neighbour. So much are they above common decency, as to go about naked, not even concealing what modesty forbids us to expose. The penances enjoined in the Romish church, such as fasting and flagellation, have evidently the same bad tendency *. With respect to fasting in particular, to what good purpose it can serve, except to gluttons, is not readily conceived. Temperance in eating and drinking is essential to health: too much or too little are equally noxious, tho' their effects are different. Fasting therefore ought never to be enjoined to the temperate as a religious duty, because it cannot be acceptable to a benevolent Deity. Listen to a great prophet on that subject. "Behold, ye fast for
 " strife and debate, and to smite with the fist of wickedness; ye
 " shall not fast as ye do this day, to make your voice to be heard
 " on high. Is it such a fast that I have chosen? a day for a man
 " to afflict his soul? Is it to bow down his head as a bulrush,
 " and to spread sackcloth and ashes under him? Wilt thou call

* A sect of Christians, styled *Flagellantes*, held, that flagellation is of equal virtue with baptism and the other sacraments; that it will procure forgiveness of sin; that the old law of Christ is to be abolished, and a new law substituted; enjoining the baptism of blood to be administered by whipping.

“ this a fast, and an acceptable day to the Lord ? Is not this the
 “ fast that I have chosen ? to loose the bands of wickedness, to
 “ undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and
 “ that ye break every yoke ? Is it not to deal thy bread to the
 “ hungry, and that thou bring the poor that are cast out, to thy
 “ house ? when thou seest the naked, that thou cover him, and
 “ that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh (a) ? ”

The most extraordinary penance of all, is celibacy considered as a religious duty. Many fathers of the church declare against matrimony. St Jerom in particular says, That the end of matrimony is eternal death ; that the earth indeed is filled by it, but heaven by virginity. The intemperate zeal of many primitive Christians led them to abstain from matrimony, and even from conjugal caresses, if they had the misfortune to be married ; believing that the carnal appetite is inconsistent with pure religion. Edward the Confessor was fainted, for no better reason than the abstaining from matrimonial duties. Jovinian, in the fourth century, taught, that all who observe the laws of piety and virtue laid down in the gospel, have an equal title to happiness in another life : consequently, that those who pass their days in celibacy and mortification, are in no respect more acceptable to God than those who live virtuously in marriage without mortification. He published his opinions in a book, against which Jerom wrote a bitter and abusive treatise, still extant. These opinions were condemned by the church, and by St Ambrose, in a council at Milan ; and Jovinian was banished by the Emperor Honorius. Such ridiculous self-denial was not confined to Christians. Strabo mentions a sect among the Thracians, who made a vow of perpetual virginity ; and were much respected on that account. Garcilasso mentions virgins in Peru consecrated to the sun : a vestal guilty of

(a) Isaiah, lviii. 4. &c

frailty was buried alive, her lover hanged, and the inhabitants of the town where she lived put to the sword. Among all the absurd acts of mortification, the present affords the strongest instance of superstition triumphing over common sense; for what can be more inconsistent with common sense, not to talk of religion, than an endeavour to put an end to the human species? Some glimpses of reason have abated the zeal of enthusiasts for celibacy; but have not totally extirpated it, for celibacy of the clergy remains to this day a law in the Romish church. It cannot however seriously be thought the will of our benevolent God, that his priests should be denied the exercise of natural powers, bestowed on all for a most valuable purpose. This impious restraint, which contradicts the great law of *Increase and multiply*, has opened the door to gross debauchery in the pastors of the Romish church; tho' ecclesiastics ought of all men to be the most circumspect in their conduct. Men restrained from what is necessary and proper, are more prone than others to break out into gross irregularities*. Marriage is warmly recommended in the laws of Zoroaster. Children are said to be a bridge that conducts men to heaven; and a man who has no children, is held to be under the power of Ahriman. The prayer of a priest who has no children, is held disagreeable to Ormuzd.

The celibacy of the clergy was countenanced by the Pope; and enforced from a political consideration, That it united the whole

* An ingenious writer, mentioned above, makes the following observation.
 " The celibacy of ecclesiastics was originally introduced by some superstitious refinements on the law of God and nature. Could men have been kept alive without eating or drinking, as well as without marriage, the same refinements would have prohibited ecclesiastics from eating and drinking, and thereby have elevated them so much nearer to the state of angels. In process of time, this fanatical interdiction became an instrument of worldly wisdom: and thus, as frequently happens, what weak men began, politicians completed." *Sir David Dalrymple.*

clergy

clergy into one firm body under his spiritual Majesty. How short-sighted is man ! It was justly esteemed at the time to be the corner-stone of Papal power ; and yet became the chief cause of its downfall. Celibacy precipitated the Romish clergy into adultery, fornication, cunning, dissimulation, and every secret vice. Will men of such manners be listened to, when they preach purity to their hearers ? There was no medium, but either to reform their own manners, or to give every indulgence to the laity. But the ignorance and superstition of the latter, rendered the former secure in their own opinion. The restoration of learning broke the charm. Men beginning to think for themselves, were provoked at the dissolute lives of their pastors, and raised a loud cry against them, not yet thinking of their doctrines. Reformers were burnt as heretics ; and clergymen were held to be emissaries from Satan, to establish his throne upon earth. Knox, that violent reformer, believed seriously, that Cardinal Beaton was *a conjured enemy to Christ Jesus*. Providence brings good out of ill. Had not the clergy been dissolute, poor Christians might have laboured under ignorance and ecclesiastical thralldom to this hour. Our reformers, beginning with their pastors, extended insensibly their hatred to the doctrines taught by their pastors. Every article of faith was sifted : the chaff was separated from the corn ; and a reformation was established upon the scriptures, rejecting every innovation of the Romish church.

There is not mentioned in history a more impudent attack upon moral principles, than a privilege assumed by the Bishop of Rome, to disengage men from their oaths and promises : it is not a greater stretch to disengage them from every duty, whether of morality or of religion. The barons of Valentia, dreading a persecution against the industrious Moors, their tenants, obtained the following clause to be inserted in their king's coronation-oath :
“ That he should not expell the Moriscos, nor force them to be
“ baptized ;

“ baptized ; that he should never desire to be relieved from the
“ oath by a dispensation from the Pope, nor accept a dispensa-
“ tion if offered.” The Emperor Charles V. took this oath so-
lemnly in presence of his nobles ; and yet accepted a dispensation
from the Pope, absolving him from the oath, and from the guilt
of perjury in breaking it. Augustus King of Poland, in the trea-
ty of Altramstadt, renounced the kingdom of Poland to his com-
petitor Stanislaus. The defeat of the King of Sweden at Poltowa,
was an inviting opportunity to renew his pretensions. A solemn
treaty stood in his way ; but the Pope removed that obstacle, by
annulling the treaty, and setting him at liberty. The Pope has
been known even to bestow that wonderful privilege upon o-
thers. Pope Pascal II. having with a solemn oath renounced
the right of investitures, empowered the cardinals to declare
his oath null. Bishops also, imitating their superior, have assu-
med the privilege of dispensing with moral duties. Instances
are not rare, of curates being authorized by their bishop to enter-
tain concubines, paying for each a regular tax of a crown year-
ly. Nay, in some provincial synods, they are enjoined to keep
concubines, in order to prevent scandal. Common prostitutes,
licensed in the city of Leghorn, have a church peculiar to them-
selves, and must not enter into any other. They follow their
trade with the utmost freedom ; except in passion-week, during
which they must forbear sinning, under pain of banishment.

The power of bestowing kingdoms, assumed by the Bishop of
Rome, was an encroachment on the rules of justice, no less bold.
Christian princes, not many ages ago, esteemed the Pope’s gift to
be their best title of property. In the 1346, the Venetians request-
ed the Pope’s permission to carry on commerce in Asia, and to
purchase there pepper and cinnamon. The Pope not only granted
their request, but pronounced anathemas upon any who should
dare to interfere in that commerce. Ferdinand and Isabella of
Spain,

Spain, applied to Pope Alexander VI. to vest in them the property of America, discovered under their auspices by Columbus. The Pope having formerly made a grant to the kings of Portugal, of their discoveries in the East Indies, both grants were held sacred; and it came to be strenuously disputed, under which of the grants the Molucca islands were comprehended. Both grants proceed upon a narrative, of the power bestowed by Almighty God on the Pope as successor to St Peter and vicar of Christ. To imagine, that the Almighty would bestow such powers on the Bishop of Rome, or on any human being, shews gross ignorance of the common rights of mankind, and of the government of Providence.

The grossest of all deviations, not only from sound morality but from pure religion, and the most extensive in its baneful effects, is a doctrine embraced by established churches, not many excepted, That because heretics are odious in the sight of God, it is the duty of the orthodox to extirpate them root and branch. Observe the consequence: people who differ from the established church, are held to be obstinate sinners, deserving punishment here as well as hereafter. The religion of every country is changeable; and the religion at present dominant may soon be under depression; which of course subjects all mankind to the rigour of persecution. An invention more effectual for extirpating the human race, is not within the reach of human powers: the horror of human sacrifices is as nothing in comparison.

The old Romans, far from having any notion of persecution, adopted the gods of every nation they conquered. A learned writer (a) observes, that as the number of their gods increased with their conquests, it is possible that they might have worshipped all the gods in the world. Their belief in tutelar deities produced

(a) Morinus.

that

that effect. Titus Livius mentions a sect of Bacchanals that spread through Italy. They performed their ceremonies during night, men and women mixing in the dark after intemperate eating and drinking. Never did wicked wretches deserve more exemplary punishment; yet listen to the following decree of the Roman senate, breathing the true spirit of toleration. "Ne qua Bacchanalia Romæ, neve in Italia essent. Si quis tale sacrum, solenne, et necessarium duceret, nec sine religione et piaculo se id omittere posse; apud prætorem urbanum profiteretur; prætor senatum consulere. Si ei permissum esset, quum in senatu centum non minus essent; ita id sacrum faceret, dum ne plus quinque sacrificio interessent; neu qua pecunia communis, neu quis magister sacrorum, aut sacerdos esset *." The Jews however were prone to persecution; for tho' they considered the supreme being as their tutelary deity, yet the malignity of their nature prevailed to make them hold in abhorrence the worship of every other god. Even among themselves, they were abundantly disposed to war; and nothing kept within bounds the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes, their three sects, but terror of the Roman power. The Christian religion implies toleration in its very nature and principles; but being corrupted by ignorance, interest, and superstition, it became prone to persecution above all others. Christian sects were enflamed against each other to a degree of bruta-

* "Let there be no Bacchanalian ceremonies performed in the city, nor within Italy. If there be any person who reckons it a matter of conscience to perform these rites, and that he ought not to omit them, let him state his opinion to the city-prætor, who shall thereupon consult the senate. If liberty be granted him by the senate when no fewer than a hundred senators are present, let him perform the sacrifice, but privately, in presence of no greater number than five persons. Let there be no public fund for them, nor any who shall preside as priest or master of the rites."

lity ; the most opposite to peace and brotherly love, inculcated in the gospel. It was propagated by the orthodox, that Arius expired in a common jakes, and that his intrails burst out. The same is related of Huneric King of the Vandals, a zealous Arian ; with the following addition, that being possessed with the devil, whom he had glutted with the blood of many martyrs, he tore his flesh off with his teeth, and ended his wretched life in the most excruciating, tho' justly deserved, torments. The falsehoods every where spread during the fourteenth century against the Jews, such as their poisoning the public fountains, killing Christian infants, and drinking their blood, with many other falsehoods of the same stamp, were invented and greedily swallowed through the influence of religious hatred. The greater part of persecutions have been occasioned in the same manner ; for men are not so desperately wicked, as to approve of persecution, unless when blinded by intemperate zeal. The same religious hatred produced the assassination of the Duke of Guise, and of two Henries, Kings of France ; produced the gun-powder plot ; and produced the most horrid deed that ever was perpetrated among men, the massacre of St Bartholomew *.

No false principle in religion has shed more innocent, or rather virtuous blood, than that of persecuting heretics ; *i. e.* those who differ in any article from the religion established by law. The doctrine of burning heretics, is in effect the professing to burn

* Monsieur de Tavannes, afterward Marechal of France, was a great partisan of the Queen-mother, and so active in the massacre, that with his own hand he murdered no fewer than seventeen Huguenots. Having on deathbed made a full confession of his sins, "What," said the priest, "not a word of St Bartholomew ?" "Of St Bartholomew !" answered the penitent ; "the service I did that memorable day to God and the church, is alone a sufficient atonement for all my transgressions."

men highly virtuous ; for they must be so in an eminent degree, who submit to be burnt alive, rather than be guilty even of dissimulation. The Mahometan practice of converting people by the sword, if not more rational, is at least more manly. Louis IX. of France, one of its best princes, would have been a greater blessing to his people, had he been less pious : he had an implacable aversion to heretics, against whom he thought it more proper to employ racks and gibbets, than argument and persuasion. Torquemada, that infernal inquisitor of Spain, brought into the inquisition, in the space of fourteen years, no fewer than 80,000 persons ; of whom 6000 were condemned to the flames, and burnt alive with the greatest pomp and exultation. Of that vast number, there was perhaps not a single person, who was not more pure in religion, as well as in morals, than their outrageous persecutor. Hunter, a young man about nineteen years of age, was one of the unhappy victims to the zeal of Queen Mary of England for Popery. Having been inadvertently betray'd by a priest to deny transubstantiation, he absconded, to keep out of harm's way. Bonner, that arch-hangman of Popery, threatened ruin to the father, if he did not deliver up the young man. Hunter, hearing of his father's danger, made his appearance ; and was burnt alive, instead of being rewarded for his filial piety. A woman of Guernsey was brought to the stake, without regard to her big belly ; which bursting by the torture, she was delivered in the midst of the flames. One of the guards snatched the infant from the fire : but the magistrate who attended the execution, ordered it to be thrown back ; being resolved, he said, that nothing should survive which sprung from a parent so obstinately heretical. Father Paul (Council of Trent, book 5.) computes, that in the Netherlands alone, from the time that the edict of Charles V. was promulgated against the reformers, fifty thousand persons were hanged, 3 N 2 beheaded,

beheaded, buried alive, or burnt, on account of religion. Some Faquirs, crazed with opium and fanaticism, have been known with poisoned daggers to fall upon uncircumcised Europeans, and to put every one to death whom they could master. In the last century, a faquir at Surate murdered, within the space of a minute, seventeen Dutch sailors with seventeen stabs of a dagger. We think with horror of human sacrifices among the ancient Pagans; and yet we behold them every day among Christians, rendered still more horrid by the most atrocious torments that religious hatred can devise.

The great motive to such cruelties, is the superstitious and absurd notion, that heretics are God's enemies; which makes it thought an acceptable service to God, not only to persecute them by fire and sword in this world, but to deliver them over to Satan in the world to come. Another circumstance enflames religious hatred; which is, that neighbours are either intimate friends or bitter enemies. This holds with a slight variation in sects of the same religion: however minute their differences be, they cannot be intimate friends; and therefore are bitter enemies: the nearer they approach to unison, if not entirely concordant, the greater in proportion is their mutual hatred. Such hatred, subduing the meek spirit of Christianity, is an additional cause for persecution. Blind zeal for what is believed to be the only true religion, never discovers error nor innocence in those who differ, but perverseness and criminal obstinacy. Two religions totally different, like two countries in opposite parts of the globe, produce no mutual enmity. At the siege of Constantinople by the Turks, ann. 1453, the Emperor, in order to procure assistance from the princes of the Latin church, ordered mass to be celebrated in one of his churches according to the form used in Rome. The people with great indignation protested, that they would rather see the Turks in their churches, than the hat of a cardinal.

The

The history of the Waldenses, tho' well known, cannot be too often repeated. In the twelfth century, a merchant of Lyons, named *Peter Valdo*, dissatisfied with the pomp and ceremonies of the Romish church, ill suited, in his opinion, to the humility of a Christian, retired to a desert in the high country of Provence, with several poor people his disciples. There he became their spiritual guide, instructing them in certain doctrines, the same that were afterward adopted by the Protestants. Their incessant labour subdued the barren soil, and prepared it for grain as well as for pasture. The rent which in time they were enabled to pay for land that afforded none originally, endeared them to their landlords. In 250 years, they multiplied to the number of 18,000, occupying thirty villages, beside hamlets, the work of their own hands. Priests they had none, nor any disputes about religion: neither had they occasion for a court of justice, as brotherly love did not suffer them to go to law: they worshipped God in their own plain way, and their innocence was secured by incessant labour. They had long enjoy'd the sweets of peace and mutual affection, when the reformers of Germany and Geneva sent ministers among them; which unhappily laid them open to religious hatred, the most unrelenting of all furies. In the year 1540, the parliament of Provence condemned nineteen of them to be burnt for heresy, their trees to be rooted up, and their houses to be raz'd to the ground. The Waldenses, terrified at this sentence, applied in a body to Cardinal Sadolet, bishop of Carpentras; who received them kindly, and obtained from Francis I. of France, a pardon for the persons under sentence of death, on condition of abjuring heresy. The matter lay over five years; when the parliament, irritated at them for persevering in their tenets, prevailed on the King to withdraw his pardon. The sentence was executed with great rigour; and the parliament, laying hold of that opportunity,

portunity, broke through every restraint of law, and commenced a violent persecution against the whole nation. The soldiers began with massacring old men, women, and children, all having fled who were able to fly; and proceeded to burn their houses, barns, and corn. There remained in the town of Cabriere sixty men and thirty women; who having surrendered upon promise of life, were butchered each of them without mercy. Some women who had taken refuge in a church, were dragged out, and burnt alive. Twenty-two villages were reduced to ashes; and that populous and flourishing district, became once more a desert.

To conceive this horrid scene in all its deformity, the people persecuted ought to be compared with the clergy their persecutors; for the civil magistrate was the hand only that executed their vengeance: on the one side, an industrious people, pure in their morals, and no less pure in their religion: on the other, proud pampered priests, abandoned without shame to every wickedness, impure in their morals, and still more impure in their religion—the world never furnished such another contrast. Had the scene been reversed, to make these wretches suffer persecution from the Waldenses—but that people were too upright and too religious for being persecutors. The manners of the Christian clergy in general, before the Reformation, enlivens the contrast. The doctrine promulgated during the dark times of Christianity, That God is a mercenary being; and that every person, however wicked, may obtain pardon of his sins by money, made riches flow into the hands of ecclesiastics in a plentiful stream. And riches had the same effect upon the Christian clergy that they have upon all men, which is, to produce pride, sensuality, and profligacy: these again produced dissipation of money, which prompted avarice, and every invention for recruiting exhausted treasures

treasures *. Even as early as the eighth century, the Christian clergy, tempted by opulence, abandoned themselves to pleasure, without moderation; and far exceeded the laity in luxury, gluttony, and lust. When such were the pastors, what must have been the flock! Rejoice, O Scotland, over the poverty and temperance of thy pastors. During that period, the clergy could read, and, like parrots, they could mumble prayers in Latin: in every other respect, they rivalled the laity in ignorance. They were indeed more cunning than the laity; and understood their interest better, if to covet riches at the expence of probity, deserve that name. Three articles were established that made religion an easy service. First, That faith is the essence of religion, without regard to good works; and hence the necessity of being strictly orthodox, which the church only could determine. Second, Religious worship was reduced to a number of external ceremonies and forms, which, being declared sufficient for salvation, absolved Christians from every moral duty. Remark, that a priest is always the chief person in ceremonial worship. The third article, That God is a mercenary being, is mentioned above, with its necessary consequences. These articles brought about a total neglect, both in clergy and laity, not only of morality, but of every essential religious duty. In fine, there never was a religion that deviated more from just principles, than that professed by Christians during the dark ages. Persecution reached none but the sincerely pious and virtuous. What a glorious tolerating sentiment doth Arnobius (a) throw out, and what profusion of blood!

* In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, many of the clergy dealt in merchandise; and, being free of taxes, engrossed all. In the Netherlands particularly, there was a great cry, that monasteries were converted into shops and warehouses, and the mansions of secular priests into tap-houses and inns.

(a) Lib. i. *Adversus Gentes*.

would have been prevented, had it been adopted by all Christians !

“ Da veniam, Rex summe, tuos persequentibus famulos : et quod
 “ tuæ benignitatis est proprium, fugientibus ignosce tui nominis
 “ et religionis cultum. Non est mirum, si ignoraris : majoris
 “ est admirationis, si sciaris *.” The following parable against

persecution was communicated to me by Dr Franklin of Philadelphia, a man who makes a great figure in the learned world : and who would make a still greater figure for benevolence and candour, were virtue in this declining age as much regarded as knowledge.

“ And it came to pass after these things, that Abraham sat in the
 “ door of his tent, about the going down of the sun. And behold
 “ a man bent with age, coming from the way of the wilderness
 “ leaning on a staff. And Abraham arose, and met him, and
 “ said unto him, Turn in, I pray thee, and wash thy feet, and
 “ tarry all night ; and thou shalt arise early in the morning, and
 “ go on thy way. And the man said, Nay ; for I will abide under
 “ this tree. But Abraham pressed him greatly : so he turned, and they went into the tent : and Abraham baked unleavened bread, and they did eat. And when Abraham saw
 “ that the man blessed not God, he said unto him, Wherefore
 “ dost thou not worship the most high God, creator of heaven
 “ and earth ? And the man answered and said, I do not worship thy God, neither do I call upon his name ; for I have made
 “ to myself a god, which abideth always in mine house, and provideth me with all things. And Abraham’s zeal was kindled
 “ against the man, and he arose, and fell upon him, and drove
 “ him forth with blows into the wilderness. And God called un-

* “ Forgive, Almighty power, the persecutors of thy servants ; and, in the peculiar benevolence of thy nature, pardon those men whose unhappiness it is to be strangers to thy name and worship. Ignorant as they are of thee, we cannot wonder at the impiety of their actions.”

“ to Abraham, saying, Abraham, where is the stranger? And
 “ Abraham answered and said, Lord, he would not worship thee,
 “ neither would he call upon thy name; therefore have I driven
 “ him out from before my face into the wilderness. And God
 “ said, Have I borne with him these hundred ninety and eight
 “ years, and nourished him, and clothed him, notwithstanding
 “ his rebellion against me; and couldst not thou, who art thyself
 “ a finner, bear with him one night?” The historical style of the
 Old Testament is here finely imitated; and the moral must strike
 every one who is not sunk in stupidity and superstition. Were it
 really a chapter of Genesis, one is apt to think, that persecution
 could never have shown a bare face among Jews or Christians.
 But alas! that is a vain thought. Such a passage in the Old Te-
 stament, would avail as little against the rancorous passions of men,
 as the following passages in the New Testament, tho’ persecution
 cannot be condemned in terms more explicit. “ Him that is weak
 “ in the faith, receive you, but not to doubtful disputations. For
 “ one believeth that he may eat all things: another, who is weak,
 “ eateth herbs. Let not him that eateth, despise him that eat-
 “ eth not; and let not him which eateth not, judge him that
 “ eateth. Who art thou that judgest another man’s servant? to
 “ his own master he standeth or falleth. One man esteemeth one
 “ day above another: another esteemeth every day alike. Let e-
 “ very man be fully persuaded in his own mind. But why dost
 “ thou judge thy brother? or why dost thou set at nought thy
 “ brother? for we shall all stand before the judgement-seat of
 “ Christ, every one to give an account of himself to God. I know,
 “ that there is nothing unclean of itself: but to him that esteem-
 “ eth any thing unclean, to him it is unclean. The kingdom of
 “ God is not meat and drink, but righteousness, and peace, and
 “ joy in the Holy Ghost. Let us therefore follow after the things
 “ which make for peace, and things wherewith one may edify an-

“other (a).” Our Saviour himself declared against persecution in the most express terms. The Jews and Samaritans were of the same religion ; but some trivial differences in the ceremonial part of worship, rendered them odious to each other. Our Saviour being refused lodging in a village of Samaria, because he was travelling to Jerusalem, his disciples James and John said, “ Lord, “ wilt thou that we command fire to come down from heaven, and “ consume them, even as Elias did ?” But he rebuked them, and said, “ The Son of man is not come to destroy mens lives, but to “ save them (b).”

It gives me real concern, that even the hot fire of persecution, did not altogether purify our Reformed clergy from that satanical spirit. No sooner were the Dissenters settled in New England, where they fled to avoid persecution, than they set on foot a persecution against the Quakers, no less furious than what they themselves had suffered at home. Nor did the Reformed clergy in Scotland lose sight of that magisterial authority, which had been assumed by their predecessors of the Romish church, on the ridiculous pretext, of being ambassadors to men from Jesus Christ. Upon a representation, ann. 1646, from the commission of the kirk of Scotland, James Bell and Colin Campbell, bailies of Glasgow, were committed to prison by the parliament, merely for having said, that kirk-men meddled too much in civil matters. Could a despotic prince have exerted a more arbitrary act ? but the church was all-powerful in those days *.

* Toleration in religion, tho’ obvious to common understanding, was not however the production of reason, but of commerce. The advantage of toleration for promoting commerce, was discovered long before by the Portuguese. They were too zealous Catholics to venture so bold a measure in Portugal ; but it was permitted in Goa, and the inquisition in that town was confined to Roman Catholics.

(a) Epistle of Paul to the Romans, chap. 14.

(b) Luke, ix. 54.

I would do justice to every church, not excepting that of Rome ; and it is doing that church no more but justice to acknowledge, that the spirit of persecution was not more eminent in it, than zeal for making converts. The former is retiring out of the world ; and I wish it most profound rest, never again to revive. People begin to be ashamed of it, as of a garment long out of fashion. Let the other continue for amusement : it is innocent ; and if it do no good, it is not productive of so much harm.

The desire of making converts proceeds from two different causes. In superstitious zealots, it proceeds from an opinion, that all who differ from them are in the road to damnation : for which reason, there is a rage of making converts among Roman Catholics ; who, without ceremony, deliver over to the flames of hell, every person who is not of their communion. The other cause is more natural : every man thinks himself in the right, especially in matters of consequence ; and for that reason, he is happy to find others of his opinion (*a*). With respect to the first cause, I beg attention to the following considerations ; not with any hope of converting zealots, but to prevent, if possible, others from becoming such. In none of the works of God is variety more happily blended with uniformity, than in the formation of man. Uniformity prevails in the human face with respect to eyes, nose, mouth, and other capital parts : variety prevails in the expressions of these parts, serving to distinguish one person from another, without hazard of error. In like manner, the minds of men are uniform with respect to their passions and principles ; but the various tones and expressions of these, form different characters without end. A face destitute of a nose or of a mouth, is monstrous : a mind destitute of the moral sense, or of a sense of religion, is no less so. But variety of expression in different faces,

(*a*) Elements of Criticism, vol. 2. p. 493. edit. 5.

is agreeable : because we relish variety ; and a similar variety in the expressions or tones of passion, ought to be equally agreeable. Endless differences in temper, in taste, and in mental faculties, that of reason in particular, produce necessarily variety in sentiment and in opinion. Can God be displeased with such variety, when it is his own work ? He requires no uniformity except with respect to an upright mind and clear conscience, which are indispensable. Here at the same time is discovered an illustrious final cause. Different countenances in the human race, not only distinguish one person from another, but promote society, by aiding us to chuse a friend, an associate, a partner for life. Differences in opinion and sentiment, have still more beneficial effects : they rouse the attention, give exercise to the understanding, and sharpen the reasoning faculty. With respect to religion in particular, perfect uniformity, which furnisheth no subject for thinking nor for reasoning, would produce languor in divine worship, and make us sink into cold indifference. How frantic then is the rage of making profelytes ? Let every man enjoy his native liberty, of thinking as well as of acting ; free to act as he pleases, provided he obey the rules of morality ; equally free to think as he pleases, provided he obey the great God as his maker and master, and acknowledge the necessary connection of religion with morality. Strict uniformity in other matters, may be compared to a spring-day, calm and serene ; neither so hot as to make us drop a garment, nor so cold as to require an addition ; no wind to ruffle, nor rain to make shelter necessary. We enjoy the sweet scene for a moment : we walk, we sit, we muse ; — but soon fall asleep. Agitation is the element of man, and the life of society. Let us not attempt to correct the works of God : the attempt will betray us into absurd errors. This doctrine cannot be better illustrated than by a conversation, reported by the Jesuit Tachard, between the King of Siam, and a French ambassador, who, in his master's name,

name, urged that king to embrace the Christian religion. "I am surpris'd," said his Majesty of Siam, "that the King of France, my good friend, should interest himself so warmly in what concerns God only. He hath given to his creatures different minds and different inclinations, which naturally lead them to differ in opinion. We admire variety in the material world: why not equally admire it in matters of religion? Have we not then reason to believe, that God takes pleasure in all the different forms of worship? Had it been the intention of God to produce uniformity in religion, he would have formed all men with the same mind." Bernier introduces some Gentiles of Hindostan defending their religion much in the same manner: "That they did not pretend their law to be universal; that they did not hold ours to be false, as, for ought they knew, it might be a good law for us; and that God probably made many roads to heaven."

With respect to the other cause above mentioned, viz. the desire of putting people in the right road. To reason others into our religious principles, is natural; but it is not always prudent. I wish my neighbour to be of my opinion, because I think my opinion right: but is there no danger of undermining his religious principles, without establishing better in their stead? Ought I not to restrain my desire of making converts, when the attempt may possibly reduce them to abandon religion altogether, as a matter of utter uncertainty? If a man of clear understanding has by some unhappy means been led into error, that man may be set right by fair reasoning: but beware of endeavouring to convert people of low parts, who are indebted for their creed to parents, to education, or to example: it is safer to let them rest as they are.

At any rate, let us never attempt to gain proselytes by rewards nor by terror: what other effect can such motives produce, but dissimulation

diffimulation and lying, parents of every secret crime. The Empress of Russia uses a method for converting her Pagan subjects of Kamtskatka, no less agreeable than effectual; which is, to exempt from taxes for ten years, such of them as profess the Christian religion. This practice may be political; but it tends not to advance religion, and is destructive of morality. Terror, on the other hand, may be equally effectual, but is not altogether so agreeable. The people of Rum, one of the Hebrides, were Papists till the beginning of the present century, when in one day they were all proselyted to the Protestant faith. Maclean of Coll, their chieftain, went to the island with a Protestant minister, and ordered all the inhabitants to appear on Sunday at public worship. They came, but refused to hear a Protestant minister. The chieftain reasoned with them: but finding that his reasonings made no impression, he laid hold of the most forward; and having made a deep impression on him with his cane, push'd him into the church. The rest followed like meek lambs; and from that day have continued firm Protestants. The Protestantism of Rum is styled by their Popish neighbours, the faith of the *yellow stick*.

To apply rewards, terror, or any other means, for making proselytes, except fair reasoning, appears to me a strange perversion. Can God be pleased with such means, or can any rational man justify them? What then should move any one to put them in practice? I should be utterly at a loss to answer the question, but for a fact mentioned more than once above, that the rude and illiterate, judge by sight only, and not by reflection, which makes them lay weight on the external visible act, without thinking of intention, because it is not visible. In truth, the bulk of mankind rest upon the external profession of religion: they never dip into the heart, nor consider how that stands affected. What else is it but the external act merely, that moves the Romish missionaries to baptize the infants of savages even at the moment of expiring?

expiring ? which they prosecute with much pious ardour. Their zeal merits applause, but by no means their judgement. Can any rational person seriously believe, that the dipping a savage or an infant in water, will make either of them a Christian, or that the want of this ceremony will precipitate them into hell ? The Lithuanians, before their conversion to Christianity, worshipped serpents, every family entertaining one as a household god. Sigismundus, in his commentaries of Muscovy, reports the following incident. A converted Christian having persuaded a neighbour to follow his example, and in token of his conversion to kill his serpent, was surprised at his next visit, to find his convert in the deepest melancholy, bitterly lamenting that he had murdered his god, and that the most dreadful calamities would befall him. Was this person a Christian more than nominally ? At the end of the last century when Kempfer was in Japan, there remained but about fifty Japan Christians, who were locked up in prison for life. These poor people knew no more of the Christian religion, but the names only of our Saviour and of the Virgin Mary ; and yet so zealous Christians were they, as rather to die miserably in jail, than to renounce the name of Christ, and be set at liberty.

I cannot with satisfaction conclude this sketch, without congratulating my present countrymen of Britain, upon their knowledge of the intimate connection that true religion has with morality. May the importance of that connection, always at heart, excite us to govern every action of our lives by the united principles of morality and religion :—what a happy people would we be !

A P P E N D I X.

Sketches concerning S C O T L A N D.

S K E T C H I.

SCOTCH ENTAILS considered in Moral and Political views.

MAN is by nature a hoarding animal; and to secure to men what they acquire by honest industry, the sense of property is made a branch of human nature (a). During the infancy of nations, when artificial wants are unknown, the hoarding appetite makes no figure. The use of money produced a great change in the human heart. Money having at command the goods of fortune, introduced inequality of rank, luxury, and artificial wants without end. No bounds are set to hoarding, where an appetite for artificial wants is indulged: love of money becomes the ruling passion: it is coveted by many in order to:

(a) Book 1. sketch 3.

be hoarded ; and means are absurdly converted into an end.

The sense of property, weak among savages, ripens gradually till it arrives at maturity in polished nations. In every stage of the progress, some new power is added to property ; and now for centuries, men have enjoy'd every power over their own goods, that a rational mind can desire (b) : they have the free disposal during life ; and even after death, by naming an heir. These powers are sufficient for accomplishing every rational purpose : they are sufficient for commerce, and they are sufficient for benevolence. But the artificial wants of men are boundless : not content with the full enjoyment of their property during life, nor with the prospect of its being enjoy'd by a favourite heir, they are anxiously bent to preserve it to themselves for ever. A man who has amassed a great estate in land, is miserable at the prospect of being obliged to quit his hold : to sooth his diseased fancy, he makes a deed securing it for ever to certain heirs ; who must without end bear his name, and preserve his estate entire. Death, it is true, must at last separate him from his idol : it is some consolation, however, that his will governs and gives law to every subsequent proprietor. How repugnant to the frail state of man, are such swollen conceptions ! Upon these however are founded entails, which have prevailed in many parts of the world, and unhappily at this day infest Scotland. Did entails produce no other harm but the gratification of a distempered appetite for property, they might be endured, though far from deserving approbation : but, like other transgressions of nature and reason, they are productive of much mischief, not only to commerce, but to the very heirs for whose benefit it is pretended that they are made.

Considering that the law of nature has bestow'd on man, every

(a) Historical Law-tracts, tract 3.

power of property that is necessary either for commerce or for benevolence, how blind was it in the English legislature to add a most irrational power, that of making an entail! But men will always be mending; and when a lawgiver ventures to tamper with the laws of nature, he hazards much mischief. We have a pregnant instance above, of an attempt to mend the laws of God, in many absurd regulations for the poor; and that the law authorising entails, is another instance of the same kind, will be evident from what follows.

The mischievous effects of English entails were soon discovered: they occasioned such injustice and oppression, that even the judges ventured to relieve the nation from them, by an artificial form, termed *fine and recovery*. And yet, though no moderate man would desire more power over his estate than he has by common law, the legislature of Scotland enabled every land-proprietor to fetter his estate for ever; to tyrannize over his heirs; and to reduce their property to a shadow, by prohibiting alienation; and by prohibiting the contracting debt, were it even to redeem the proprietor from death or slavery. Thus many a man, fonder of his estate than of his wife and children, grudges the use of it to his natural heirs, reducing them to the state of mere liferenters. Behold the consequences. A number of noblemen and gentlemen among us, lie in wait for every parcel of land that comes to market. Intent upon aggrandizing their family, or rather their estate, which is the favourite object, they secure every purchase by an entail; and the same course will be followed, till no land be left to be purchased. Thus every entailed estate in Scotland becomes in effect a mortmain, admitting additions without end, but absolutely barring any alienation; and if the legislature interpose not, the period is not distant, when all the land in Scotland will be locked up by entails, and withdrawn from commerce.

The purpose of the present essay, is to set before our legislature, coolly and impartially, the destructive effects of a Scotch entail. I am not so sanguine as to hope, that men, who convert means into an end, and avariciously covet land for its own sake, will be prevailed upon to regard, either the interest of their country or of their posterity: but I would gladly hope, that the legislature may be roused to give attention to a national object of no slight importance.

I begin with effects of a private or domestic nature. To the possessor, an entail is a constant source of discontent, by subverting that liberty and independence, which all men covet, with respect to their goods as well as their persons. What can be more vexatious to a proprietor of a great land-estate, than to be barred from the most laudable acts, suitable provisions for example to a wife or children? not to mention numberless acts of benevolence, that endear individuals to each other, and make society comfortable. Were he ever so industrious, his fields must lie waste; for what man will lay out his own money upon an estate that is not his own? A great proportion of the land in Scotland is in such a state, that by laying out a thousand pounds or so, an intelligent proprietor may add a hundred pounds yearly to his rent-roll. But an entail effectually bars that improvement: it affords the proprietor no credit; and supposing him to have the command of money independent of the estate, he will be ill-fated if he have not means to employ it more profitably for his own interest. An entail, at the same time, is no better than a trap for an improvident possessor: to avoid altogether the contracting debt, is impracticable; and if a young man be guided more by pleasure than by prudence, which commonly is the case of young men; a vigilant and rapacious substitute, taking advantage of a forfeiting clause, turns him out of possession, and delivers him over to want and misery.

But

But an entail is productive of consequences still more dismal, even with respect to heirs. A young man upon whom the family-estate is entailed, without any power reserved to the father, is not commonly obsequious to advice, nor patiently submissive to the fatigues of education: he abandons himself to pleasure, and indulges his passions without control. In one word, there is no situation more subversive of morals, than that of a young man, bred up from infancy in the certainty of inheriting an opulent fortune.

The condition of the other children, daughters especially, is commonly deplorable. The proprietor of a large entailed estate, leaves at his death children who have acquired a taste for sumptuous living. The sons drop off one by one, and a number of daughters remain, with a scanty provision, or perhaps with none at all. A collateral male heir succeeds, who after a painful search is discovered in some remote corner, qualified to procure bread by the spade or the plough, but entirely unqualified for behaving as master of an opulent fortune. By such a metamorphosis, the poor man makes a ludicrous figure; while the daughters, reduced to indigence, are in a situation much more lamentable than are the brats of beggars.

Our entails produce another domestic evil, for which no proper remedy is provided. The sums permitted in most entails to younger children, however adequate when the entail is made, become in time too scanty, by a fall in the value of money, and by increase of luxury; which is peculiarly hard upon daughters of great families: the provisions destined for them will not afford them bread; and they cannot hope to be suitably matched, without a decent fortune. If we adhere to entails, nunneries ought to be provided.

But the domestic evils of an entail make no figure, compared with those that respect the public. These in their full extent
would

would fill a volume: they are well known; and it may be sufficient to keep them in view by some general hints.

As observed above, few tenants in tail can command money for improvements, however profitable. Such discouragement to agriculture, hurtful to proprietors of entailed estates, is still more so to the public. It is now an established maxim, That a state is powerful in proportion to the product of its land: a nation that feeds its neighbours, can starve them. The quantity of land that is locked up in Scotland by entails, has damped the growing spirit of agriculture. There is not produced sufficiency of corn at home for our own consumption: and our condition will become worse and worse by new entails; till agriculture and industry be annihilated. Were the great entailed estates in Scotland, split into small properties of fifty or a hundred pounds yearly rent, we should soon be enabled, not only to supply our own markets, but to spare for our neighbours.

In the next place, our entails are no less subversive of commerce than of agriculture. There are numberless land-estates in Scotland of one, two, or three hundred pounds yearly rent. Such an estate cannot afford bare necessities to the proprietor, if he pretend to live like a gentleman. But he has an excellent resource: let him apply to any branch of trade, his estate will afford him credit for what money he wants. The profit he makes, pays the interest of the money borrowed, with a surplus; and this surplus, added to the rent of his estate, enables him to live comfortably. A number of land-proprietors in such circumstances, would advance commerce to a great height. But alas! there are not many who have that resource: such is the itch in Scotland for entailing, as even to descend lower than one hundred pounds yearly. Can one behold with patience, the countenance that is given to selfish wrong-headed people, acting in direct opposition to the prosperity of their country? Commerce is no less hurt in another respect: when

when our land is withdrawn from commerce by entails, every prosperous trader will desert a country where he can find no land to purchase; for to raise a family by acquiring an estate in land, is the ultimate aim of every merchant, and of every man who accumulates money.

Thirdly, An entail is a bitter enemy to population. Population is generally proportioned to the number of land-proprietors. A very small portion of land, managed with skill and industry, affords bread to a numerous family; and the great aim of the frugal proprietor, is to provide a fund for educating his children, and for establishing them in business. A numerous issue, at the same time, is commonly the lot of the temperate and frugal; because they are strangers to luxury and voluptuousness, which enervate the body, and dry up the sources of procreation. This is no chimaera or fond imagination: traverse Europe; compare great capitals with distant provinces; and it will be found to hold universally, that children abound much more among the industrious poor, than among the luxurious rich. But if division of land into small properties, tend to population; depopulation must be the necessary consequence of an entail, the avowed intent of which is to unite many small properties in one great estate; and consequently, to reduce land-proprietors to a small number.

Let us, in the fourth place, take under consideration, the children of landholders with respect to education and industry; for unless men be usefully employ'd, population is of no real advantage to a state. In that respect, great and small estates admit no comparison. Children of great families, accustomed to affluence and luxury, are too proud for business; and were they even willing, are incapable to drudge at a laborious employment. At the same time, as the father's hands are tied up by his entail from affording them means to subsist as persons of rank, they become a burden on the family, and on the state, and can do no service to
either,

either, but by dying. Yet there are men so blind, or so callous, as to be fond of entails. Let us try whether a more pleasing scene will have any effect upon them. Children of small landholders, are from infancy educated in a frugal manner; and they must be industrious, as they depend on industry for bread. Among that class of men, education has its most powerful influence; and upon that class a nation chiefly relies, for its skilful artists and manufacturers, for its lawyers, physicians, divines, and even for its generals and statesmen.

And this leads to consider, in the fifth place, the influence that great and small estates have on manners. Gentlemen of a moderate fortune, connected with their superiors and inferiors, improve society, by spreading kindly affection through the whole members of the state. In such only resides the genuine spirit of liberty, abhorrent equally of servility to superiors and of tyranny to inferiors. The nature of the British government, creates a mutual dependence of the great and small on each other. The great have favours to bestow: the small have many more, by their privilege of electing parliament-men; which obliges men of high rank to affect popularity, if they have none at heart. This connection produces good manners at least between different ranks, and perhaps some degree of cordiality. Accumulation of land into great estates, produces opposite manners: when all the land in Scotland is swallow'd up by a number of grandees, and few gentlemen of the middle rank are left; even the appearance of popularity will vanish, leaving pride and insolence on the one hand, and abject servility on the other. In a word, the distribution of land into many shares, accords charmingly with the free spirit of the British constitution; but nothing is more repugnant to that spirit, than overgrown estates in land.

In the sixth place, Arts and sciences can never flourish in a country, where all the land is engrossed by a few men. Science
will

will never be cultivated by the dispirited tenant, who can scarce procure bread ; and still less, if possible, by the insolent landlord, who is too self-sufficient for instruction. There will be no encouragement for arts : great and opulent proprietors, fostering ambitious views, will cling to the seat of government, which is far removed from Scotland ; and if vanity make them sometimes display their grandeur at their country-seats, they will be too delicate for any articles of luxury but what are foreign. The arts and sciences being thus banished, Scotland will be deserted by every man of spirit who can find bread elsewhere.

In the seventh place, Such overgrown estates will produce an irregular and dangerous influence with respect to the House of Commons. The parliament-boroughs will be subdued by weight of money ; and with respect to county-elections, it is a chance if there be left in a county as many landholders capable to elect, and to be elected, as even to afford a choice. In such circumstances, will our constitution be in no danger, from the ambitious views of men elevated above others by their vast possessions ? Is it unlikely, that such men, taking advantage of public discord, will become an united body of ambitious oppressors, overawing their sovereign as well as their fellow-subjects ? Such was the miserable condition of Britain, while the feudal oligarchy subsisted : such at present is the miserable condition of Poland : and such will be the miserable condition of Scotland, if the legislature afford not a remedy.

If the public interest only were to be regarded, the axe ought to be applied, cutting down entails to the very root : but a numberless body of substitutes are interested, many of whom would be disinherited, if the tenants in tail had power. To reconcile as much as possible these opposite interests, it is proposed, that the following articles be authorised by a statute. First, That the act of parliament 1685 be repealed with respect to all future opera-

tions. Second, That entails already made and completed, shall continue effectual to such substitutes as exist at the date of the act proposed; but shall not benefit any substitute born after it. Third, That power be reserved to every proprietor, after the act 1685 is at an end, to settle his estate upon what heirs he thinks proper, and to bar these heirs from altering the order of succession; these powers being inherent in property at common law.

At the same time, the prohibiting entails will avail little, if trust-deeds be permitted in their utmost extent, as in England. And therefore, in order to re-establish the law of nature with respect to land-property, a limitation of trust-deeds is necessary. My proposal is, That no trust-deed, directing or limiting the succession of heirs to a land-estate, shall be effectual beyond the life of the heirs in existence at the time.

SKETCH

S K E T C H II.

Government of ROYAL BOROUGHS in Scotland.

BY a royal borough is in Scotland understood an incorporation that hold their lands of the crown, and are governed by magistrates of their own naming. The administration of the annual revenues of a royal borough, termed the *common good*, is trusted to the magistrates; but not without control. It was originally subjected to the review of the Great Chamberlain; and accordingly the chap. 39. § 45. of the *Iter Camerarii*, contains the following articles, recommended to the Chamberlain to be enquired into. “ Giff there be an good assedation and uptaking of the
 “ common good of the burgh, and giff faithful compt be made
 “ thereof to the community of the burgh; and giff no compt is
 “ made, he whom and in quhaes hands it is come, and how it
 “ passies by the community.” In pursuance of these instructions, the Chamberlain’s precept for holding the ayr, or circuit, is directed to the provost and bailies, enjoining them, “ to call all those
 “ who have received any of the town’s revenues, or used any of-
 “ fice within the burgh, since the last chamberlain-ayr, to an-
 “ swer such things as shall be laid to their charge.” *Iter Camer. cap. 1.* And in the third chapter, which contains the forms of the chamberlain-ayr, the first thing to be done after fencing the court, is, to call the bailies and serjeants to be challenged and accused from the time of the last ayr.

This office, dangerous by excess of power, being suppressed, the royal boroughs were left in a state of anarchy. The magistracy, being now no longer under any check or control, was coveted by noblemen and gentlemen in the neighbourhood; who, under the name of office-bearers, laid their hands on the revenues of the borough, and converted all to their own profit. This corruption was heavily complained of in the reign of James V.; and a remedy was provided by act 26. parl. 1535, enacting, 1st, That none be qualified to be provost, bailie, or alderman, but an indwelling burges. 2dly, "That no inhabitant purchase lordship out of burgh, to the terror of his comburges. And, 3dly, That all provosts, bailies, and aldermen of boroughs, bring yearly to the chequer at a day certain, the compt-books of their common good, to be seen and considered by the Lords Auditors, giff the same be spended for the common well of the burgh, or not, under the penalty of losing their freedom. And that the saids provosts, bailies, and aldermen, warn yearly, fifteen days before their coming to the chequer, all those who are willing to come for examining the said accounts, that they may impugn the same, in order that all murmur may cease in that behalf." And to enforce these regulations, a brieve was issued from the chancery, commanding the magistrates to present their accounts to the exchequer, and summoning the burgeses to appear and object to the same.

A defect in this statute made it less effectual than it was intended to be. Magistrates, to avoid the penalty, brought the count-books of their common good to the exchequer; but they brought no rental of the common good to found a charge against them. This defect was remedied by act 28. parl. 1693, containing the following preamble. "That the royal boroughs, by the male-administration of their magistrates, have fallen under great debts and burdens, to the diminution of their dignity, and the disabling

“ abling of them to serve the crown and government as they
“ ought; and that the care, oversight, and control of the com-
“ mon good of boroughs, belong to their Majesties by virtue of
“ their prerogative-royal; therefore, for preventing the like abuses
“ and misapplications in all time thereafter, their Majesties sta-
“ tute and ordain, That every burgh-royal, shall, betwixt and
“ the first of November next, bring to the Lords of Treasury and
“ Exchequer, an exact account of charge and discharge, subscri-
“ bed by the magistrates and town-clerk, of their whole public-
“ good and revenues, and of the whole debts and incumbrances
“ that affect the same.” This completed the remedy, by putting
means into the hands of the Barons of Exchequer, to control
the accounts enjoined by the former statute to be yearly given in.

The foregoing regulations are kept in observance. Every year
a precept issues from the exchequer, signed by one of the Barons,
addressed to the director of the chancery, requiring him to make
out a brieve for every royal borough. The brieve is accordingly
made out, returned to the exchequer, and sent to the several
sheriffs, to be served in all the royal boroughs within their
bounds, as directed by the statute. These brieves are according-
ly so served by the sheriffs; and particularly it is a constant form
in most of the royal boroughs, to issue a proclamation, fifteen days
before the day named for appearance in exchequer, warning the
inhabitants to repair there, in order to object to the public ac-
counts of the town: and further, in order to give them opportu-
nity to frame objections, the book and counts are laid open for
these fifteen days, to be inspected by all the inhabitants.

We learn from the records of exchequer, that from the year
1660 to the year 1683, accounts were regularly given in to ex-
chequer, in obedience to the statute. The town of Edinburgh
only having failed for some short time, Captain Thomas Hamil-
ton merchant there, by an action in exchequer, compelled the
magistrates

magistrates to produce upon oath their treasurer's accounts, which were accordingly audited. And we also learn, that from the Restoration down to the Union, a clerk to the borough-roll was appointed by the crown, whose proper business it was to examine and audit the accounts of the boroughs.

Notwithstanding the foregoing salutary regulations, and the form constantly practised to make them effectual, the boroughs of late years have forborn to present their accounts in exchequer; hoping that they would be overlooked by the English court of exchequer, established in Scotland after the Union; which accordingly happened. This neglect in the court of exchequer is greatly to be regretted, because it reduces the royal boroughs, by the male-administration of their magistrates, to the same miserable condition that is so loudly complained of in the statutes above mentioned. It is undoubtedly in the power of the Barons to restore good government to the boroughs, by compelling the magistrates to account yearly in the court of exchequer, according to the foregoing regulations. And to that end no more is necessary, but to signify publicly that they are resolved hereafter to put these regulations in execution.

How beneficial that step would be to this country in general, and to the royal boroughs in particular, will appear from considering, first, the unhappy consequences that result from suffering magistrates to dispose of the town's revenues, without any check or control; and next the good effects that must result from a regular and careful management, under the inspection of the King's judges.

The unhappy consequences of leaving magistrates without any check or control, are too visible to be disguised. The revenues of a royal borough are seldom laid out for the good of the town, but in making friends to the knot who are in possession of the magistracy; and in rioting and drunkenness, for which every pretext

text is laid hold of, particularly that of hospitality to strangers. Such mismanagement tends to idleness, and corruption of manners; which accordingly are remarkable in most royal boroughs. Nor is the contagion confined within the town: it commonly spreads all around.

Another consequence, no less fatal, of leaving magistrates to act without control, is a strong desire in every licentious burgher, of stepping into the magistracy, for his own sake, and for that of his friends. Hence the factions and animosities that prevail in almost all the royal boroughs; which are violently and indecently pursued, without the least regard to the good of the community.

The greatest evil of all, respects the choice of their representatives in parliament. A habit of riot and intemperance, makes them fit subjects to be corrupted, by every adventurer who is willing to lay out money for purchasing a seat in parliament. Hence the infamous practice of bribery at elections, which tends not only to corrupt the whole mass of the people, but, which is still more dreadful, tends to fill the House of Commons with men of dissolute manners, void of probity and honour.

But turning from scenes so dismal, let us view the beautiful effects that result, from an administration regularly carried on, as directed by the statutes above mentioned. The revenues of the royal boroughs are supposed to be above L. 40,000 yearly. And were this sum, or the half of it, prudently expended, for promoting arts and industry among the numerous inhabitants of royal boroughs, the benefit, in a country so narrow and poor as Scotland, would be immense: it would tend to population, it would greatly increase industry, manufactures, and commerce, beside augmenting the public revenue. In the next place, as there would be no temptation for designing men to convert the burden of magistracy into a benefit, faction and discord would vanish; and there would be no less solicitude to shun the burden, than at
present

present is seen to obtain it. None would submit to the burden but the truly patriotic, men who would cheerfully bestow their time, and perhaps their money, upon the public ; and whose ambition it would be to acquire a character, by promoting industry, temperance, and honesty, among their fellow-citizens.

And when the government of the royal boroughs comes to be in so good hands, bribery, which corrupts the very vitals of our constitution, will be banished of course. And considering the proper and constitutional dependence of the royal boroughs upon the king's judges, we may have reasonable assurance, that few representatives will be chosen, but who are friends to their country and to their sovereign.

S K E T C H

S K E T C H I I I .

Plan for improving and preserving in order the
H I G H W A Y S in Scotland.

P R E F A C E .

*H*ighways have in Scotland become a capital object of police, by the increase of inland commerce, upon which bad roads are a heavy tax. Happily for our country, no person is ignorant of this truth ; and we see with pleasure the fruits of their conviction in various attempts, public and private, to establish this valuable branch of police upon the best footing. As this will be found no easy task, it may reasonably be hoped, that men of genius will seriously apply themselves to it, and in general that every person will freely produce such hints as occur to them. In the latter view the following plan is offered to the public : and if, from the various proposals that have been or shall be published, an effective plan can be framed, such as completely to answer its purpose, it may safely be pronounced, that it will produce more benefit to this country, than has been produced by any other single improvement since the union of the two kingdoms.

1. **T**HE justices of peace, commissioners of supply, the sheriff or steward depute, and the first magistrate of royal boroughs, shall be commissioners for making and repairing highways, bridges, and ferries, in the several shires and stewartries. All the powers given by law to the justices of peace, and commissioners of supply, with respect to highways, bridges, and ferries, shall be transferred to them; and any two shall be a quorum, except where a greater number is required by this act.

2. The sheriff or steward depute shall appoint the first day of meeting of the said commissioners, as soon as may conveniently be after the date of the act, by an intimation at each parish-church upon a Sunday at the close of the forenoon-service. And the last Tuesday of March shall yearly thereafter be a day of meeting at the head borough of the shire or stewartry, in place of the first or third Tuesday of May appointed by former acts. The commissioners shall appoint a preses, convener, and clerk: and they shall be empowered to adjourn themselves from time to time.

3. The commissioners, at their first meeting, shall set about a division of the shire or stewartry into two or more districts, as they see convenient. And if they cannot overtake this work at that meeting, they shall appoint proper persons to form a plan of the intended divisions, which plan shall be reported to the commissioners at their next meeting, in order to be approved or altered by them. This being settled, the commissioners shall appoint the heritors in these several districts, or any three of them, to meet on a certain day and place, to make lists of the whole public roads within their respective districts, and to settle the order of reparation, beginning with those that are the most frequented. The proceedings of these district-meetings must be reported to the commissioners, at their next meeting; who are empowered to settle the order of reparation, in case of variance among the heritors ;

tors ; and also to add any road that may have been omitted. And they shall record a scheme or plan of the whole roads in the shire, thus enlisted, with their resolutions thereupon, to be seen in the clerk's hands *gratis*. But upon any just cause appearing in the course of administration, the commissioners shall be empowered to alter or vary this plan, provided it be at a meeting previously appointed for that purpose, and where three fifths at least of the commissioners are present.

4. If the sheriff or steward neglect to appoint the first meeting of the commissioners, he shall incur a penalty of L. 100, upon a summary complaint to the court of session by any one heritor of the shire ; with costs of suit, the one half to the plaintiff, and the other half to be applied by the commissioners for the purposes of this act. If the commissioners fail to meet at the day appointed by the sheriff or steward, or fail to divide the shire or stewartry into districts, within six months of their first meeting, the sheriff or steward depute, under the foresaid penalty, shall be bound to do that work himself ; and also to appoint the heritors in the several districts, or any three of them, to make lists of the public roads as above mentioned, and to report their resolutions to him ; and he is empowered to settle the order of reparation, in case of variance among the heritors. If the heritors fail to meet, and to make a list of the roads as aforesaid, this work shall be performed by the sheriff or steward depute himself. And he shall be indemnified of whatever expences he is at in prosecuting the said work, out of the sums that are to be levied by authority of this act, in manner after mentioned, with an additional sum for his own trouble, to be named by the circuit-judges.

5. No person shall act as a commissioner upon this statute, but who has an estate within the county of L. 200 Scots valuation, or is heir-presumptive to such an estate, or is named a commissioner *virtute officii*, under the penalty of L. 20 Sterling *toties quoties*, to

be prosecuted before any competent court, by a popular action, with costs of suit; the one half to the plaintiff, the other half to the purposes of this act.

6. Whereas the sum of 10 d. directed by the act 1669 to be imposed upon each L. 100 of valued rent, is insufficient for the purposes therein expressed; and whereas the fix days statute-work for repairing the highways is in many respects inconvenient; therefore instead of the 10 d. and instead of the statute-work, the commissioners, together with the heritors possessed of L. 200 Scots of valued rent, five, whether commissioners or heritors, making a quorum, shall annually, upon the said last Tuesday of March, assess each heritor in a sum not exceeding upon each L. 100 valued rent; the assessment imposed on the heritors to be levied by the collector of supply, along with the cess, and by the same legal remedies. The heritors are entitled to relieve themselves of the one half of the said assessment, by laying the same upon their tenants, in proportion to their rents; an heritor being always considered as a tenant of the land he has in his natural possession.

7. With respect to boroughs of royalty, regality, and barony, and large trading villages, the commissioners are empowered to levy from each householder, a sum not exceeding 2 s. yearly, more or less in proportion to the assessment of the shire, to be paid within forty days after notice given, under the penalty of double, besides expence of process. Provided, that any of these householders who have country-farms, by which they contribute to relieve their landlords as above mentioned, shall be exempted from this part of the assessment.

8. If the commissioners and heritors neglect to assess their shire, or name so small a sum as to be an elusory assessment, insufficient to answer the purposes of this act, the court of justiciary, or the circuit-judges, are in that case empowered and required to lay on the

the highest assessment that is made lawful by this act. In case of a total omission, the commissioners and heritors who, by neglecting to convene without a good cause of absence, have occasioned the said omission, shall be subjected each of them to a penalty of L. 20 Sterling. And to make these penalties effectual, the trustees for fisheries and manufactures are appointed to sue for the same before the court of session, and to apply the same, when recovered, to any useful purpose within the shire, especially to the purposes of this act. And to preserve the said fines entire for the public service, the trustees shall be entitled to costs of suit.

9. The sums levied as aforesaid shall be laid out annually upon the highways, bridges, and ferries, for making, repairing, or improving the same; proceeding regularly with the reparation according to the scheme or plan ordered as above to be settled in each shire and stewartry.

10. With respect to roads that are not the first in order, and for which there is no interim provision by this act during reparation of the more frequented roads, the commissioners are empowered to exact from cottars and day-labourers their statute-work according to the acts presently in force, to be applied to those secondary roads. The statute-work is not to be demanded unless for this purpose; and is to cease totally after the highways have, by means of the present act, been once totally repaired.

11. The commissioners and heritors, at all their meetings, shall bear their own charges.

12. The clause in the act 1661, empowering heritors, at the sight of the sheriff, to cast about highways for their convenience, shall be repealed; and it shall be declared unlawful, in time coming, to turn about or change any highway, unless for the benefit of the public, as by shortening it, carrying it through firmer ground, or making it more level; and to that purpose the commissioners.

missioners shall be impowered to turn about highways, as also to widen the same, not exceeding thirty feet, free of ditches. But the commissioners shall have no power to carry a road through any house, garden, orchard, or pleasure-ground.

13. The commissioners shall have power to take from the adjacent lands, stones, sand, gravel, or other materials for making the highways, paying always for the damage done.

14. With respect to high-roads which bound the properties of neighbouring heritors, and which it may be found necessary to alter or widen, the commissioners shall be empowered to adjudge to one heritor any small bits of ground cut off from the other by the road so altered; and if land cannot be given for land, to make a compensation in money, valuing the land at the current price of the country.

15. In order to prevent water stagnating on the highways, the commissioners shall be impowered to make ditches or drains through neighbouring grounds; and such ditches or drains shall be preserved entire by the proprietors of the land, or at their charges.

16. As the foresaid assessment, after repairing the highways, may not be sufficient for building bridges, or making ferries, where rivers are large; any five of the commissioners may, for building bridges, or making ferries, establish a pontage or toll; so much for horses, so much for horned cattle, and so much for sheep, and the double for each beast in a wheel-carriage. Upon the credit of the toll, the said commissioners may borrow money, to be employed wholly upon the bridge or ferry where the toll is gathered. But before borrowing the money, an estimate must be made of the expence of the work. After the work is finished, the sum bestowed on it must be ascertained: an accurate account must be kept of the gradual payment of this sum by the toll; and when
it

it is completely paid, the commissioners must declare the bridge or ferry to be free.

17. The determinations of the commissioners shall be final, unless complained of in manner following.

18. If any heritor apprehend that undue preference is given to a certain highway, or conceive himself aggrieved by any order or sentence of the commissioners, it shall be lawful for him, within forty days of the act complained of, to enter a complaint in the court of session; and the judgement upon such complaint shall be final. But such complaint shall only be effectual for damages, and shall not stay execution of the work. At the same time, no complaint shall be admitted till security be given to pay full costs, in case the plaintiff be found in the wrong.

19. Former laws concerning highways, bridges, or ferries, to continue in force, unless as far as altered by this act.

20. An annual state of what is done by virtue of this act, made up by the commissioners, or their clerk, shall, before the last Tuesday of March, be laid before the trustees for fisheries and manufactures, in order to be made a part of their annual report to the King; and these trustees shall direct proper persons to inspect what work is done upon the high-roads, and in what manner. Upon any misapplication or embezzlement of the money levied, any neglect in levying, or any wrong done to the public, contrary to the intention of this act, the trustees are required to set on foot and prosecute what redress is competent in law or equity, provided the prosecution be commenced within a year after the offence.

Query, Ought not broad wheels to be required?

CON-

CONSIDERATIONS on the preceding PLAN.

THE laws in Scotland relating to this branch of public police, are numerous ; some enacted while Scotland was a separate kingdom, some after its union with England. It is not the purpose of this paper to enter into a detail of the various regulations established by these laws : they are generally known ; and in the late abridgement of our statute-law, they are all recapitulated with brevity and precision. It shall suffice cursorily to observe, that the acts made during the reign of Charles II. form the groundwork of our regulations concerning highways : the later acts are little more than explanatory of the former.

It seems to have been the plan of the legislature, that highways should be repaired by those who are employed in husbandry ; and accordingly, the six days annual labour is, in the statutes of Charles II. imposed upon them only.

This was a measure not ill suited to the state of Scotland at that period. During the last century, we had little inland commerce to require good roads, except that of corn carried to market ; and for that reason, it was natural to impose upon husbandmen the burden of repairing highways. These persons, at the same time, passing the whole summer in idleness, unless when called to perform personal services to capricious and unfeeling landlords, could not think it a hardship to have some part of their time employed in serving themselves instead of their landlords.

That annual labour upon highways, limited to a few days, should be required from men in that condition, appears not unjust. And why may we not suppose the legislature at that time
capable

capable of such enlarged views, as to prefer this method for repairing highways, in order to bring on gradually a habit of labour and industry? But the condition of Scotland at present differs widely from what it was in the reign of Charles II.; and the regulations for repairing highways which were then proper, have, by alteration of circumstances, become both unjust and inexpedient.

Unjust they have become in a high degree. Inland commerce, which begins to flourish in Scotland, is greatly promoted by good roads; and every dealer, and indeed every traveller, profits by them. But no men are less interested in good roads than day-labourers, or those who are commonly called *cottars*; and yet these chiefly are burdened with the reparation. Such men, at the same time having commonly many children, find it difficult to support their families, even with their utmost industry. Nothing can be more unjust, than to impose upon such men an annual tax of six days labour for repairing roads, the goodness of which contributes little or nothing to their convenience.

Our present laws are inexpedient, as well as unjust. In the first place, a tax of this nature discourages the propagation of children, in which the strength of a state consists: the poor labourer ought to be encouraged with a reward, instead of being discouraged with a tax. In the next place, cottars called out to perform the statute-work, obey with reluctance, and trifle away time without doing any thing effectual. To enforce the law, and to compel such men to labour, is grievous to the gentlemen who are empowered to execute the law: they cannot punish with rigour or firmness, men who have so good reason to decline the service: they are soon disgusted with being taskmasters, and the generality desist altogether.

Laws concerning private property are always kept in observance, and they execute themselves, as is commonly expressed,

because there are always a multitude of individuals strongly interested to have them executed. But in making public laws, the great difficulty has ever been, to lay down effectual measures for putting them in execution; and by what means to make such laws execute themselves, is one of the most intricate problems in politics. Our laws concerning highways, are eminently defective in that respect: and accordingly, tho' most of them have existed near a century, they never have at any period been executed to any extent. Take the following specimen, among many that may be urged, of this defect. Overseers are forc'd into the service under a penalty, in order to compel the peasants to perform faithfully their six-days labour. To hope any good from a reluctant overseer set over a set of reluctant labourers, is a fond conceit: it is much if his resentment tempt him not to encourage their idleness. In vain would we expect, that any overseer, without a suitable reward, will exert himself in promoting the work.

To remedy the hardship of laying the burden of reparation upon those who are least able and least benefited, and at the same time to make this remedy effectual, is the purpose of the foregoing plan. And upon considering the matter in its different views, the only method that promises success, appears to be a county-tax laid upon land according to the valuation, and a capitation-tax on the inhabitants of boroughs. These taxes relieve the labouring poor, and lay the burden where it ought to be laid: and the law will execute itself, if that effect can be hoped from any public law. Effectual measures are laid down for levying the tax: and, if once levied, there is no danger of its being allowed to lie unemploy'd in the hands of the collector; for every heritor will be anxious to have some part employ'd for his benefit. The danger will rather be of factious disputes about the distribution. This danger also is attempted to be prevented; and, it is hoped, with success.

Some

Some narrow-minded persons may possibly grudge a tax, that loads the present generation for the advantage of those who come after : but is it rational to grudge, that others should benefit by measures evidently calculated for advancing our own interest ? Let us suppose, that the heritors of a shire were to concert measures in common, for improving their lands : to make good roads would be one effectual measure ; for supposing the reparation to cost L. 5000, their estates would be bettered double that sum.

To conclude : It is not to be expected that any regulations concerning highways, or concerning any branch of police, can be so framed as to please every individual. Wise men are practicable men, to use an expression of Lord Bacon, and will make concessions in order to promote a general good, if without such concessions it cannot be obtained. Better far to have a good law, tho' in our opinion defective in some articles, than to have no law at all, or, which is worse, a law eminently defective, unjust, and inexpedient.

F I N I S.





Stack

901.2
K15a
v.2
c.2

901.2
K15a
v.2
cop. 2

STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
STANFORD AUXILIARY LIBRARY
STANFORD, CALIFORNIA 94305-6004
(415) 723-9201
All books may be recalled after 7 days

DATE DUE

~~NOV 30 1996~~
F/S

JUL 18 2001
DEC 1 2002

